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## THE LOST LITERATURE OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

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I HAVE more than once heard the late W. P. Ker express surprise at the way in which students of Medieval English literature leave out of their calculation what has been lost.

The same temptation does not beset the student of classical literature, or at any rate not in equal measure. Startling new discoveries are being made with more frequency, and serve to keep the classical student constantly reminded that 'it is hard to say what the sands of Egypt still hide for us'. These words were placed at the end of his narrative by a historian of Greek literature, writing in the year 1890, and he has been justified by a succession of finds, beginning with the announcement in the following January of the discovery of the treatise on the *Constitution of Athens*.

Generally, too, in classical literature we have titles, and often a few odd lines preserved, to keep us reminded of what has been lost. With the names of well over a hundred vanished plays of Sophocles before us, we cannot think of him as the author of seven plays alone. And we know enough of the subject of many of the lost plays to stimulate our curiosity. A Gretna Green marriage, with papa upset at the critical

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society, 15 December 1924.

moment, because his wicked minx of a daughter has bribed his charioteer to betray him, does not strike one as a very Sophoclean theme. We wonder how Sophocles treated it, and whether the lost Oenomaus would have modified our conception of Sophoclean tragedy.

The temptation is much greater to overlook the lost literature of the Middle Ages : for it has often left very little trace behind it. We do not get much light on the lost vernacular literature of the earlier Middle Ages from scrutinizing the catalogues of monastic libraries which have come down to us. A good deal of this lost literature, as we shall see, was very possibly never written down at all : it may have depended entirely upon the memory of minstrels. Yet it is safe to say that if the lost poetry had been preserved, the whole history of English literature, prior to Chaucer and Langland, would appear to us in a different light. The homilies and lives of saints, which bulk so largely in Medieval English verse and prose, would subside till they occupied a just, and a small, proportion of our attention.

Bacon has put it that 'Time is like a river, which carrieth 'down things which are light and blown up, and drowneth 'that which is sad and weighty'. So far, however, as medieval literature is concerned, the serious works which Bacon would have characterized as 'sad and weighty' have very largely been preserved. What has been lost is the legendary poetry written in honour of kings and heroes, many of whom did indeed actually exist, but whose exploits were perverted in a way which Bacon would have deplored as showing a 'light and blown up' spirit of indifference to historical fact. The complaint we have really to make against the river of Time is the reverse of that which Bacon makes. It is that it has brought down masses of medieval literature which are sad, weighty, and dull, but has drowned so much which might in some senses be called light, but which was certainly cheering,

romantic, and sometimes heroic in spirit. In England, we have to deplore the almost complete loss of two distinct schools of heroic poetry.

In marked contrast to this loss, is the security with which the tradition of English scholarship has come down to us. That tradition begins in the seventh century, when two streams of learning met in England, the one coming from Ireland and the other from Mediterranean lands. The tradition of learning which then started in England has, despite many set-backs, continued unbroken to the present day. One example of this continuity may be given.

Of all the scholars born in England in the seventh century, by far the greatest is the Venerable Bede: and his greatest work is the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Bede himself tells us that he finished the work in 731; but he was apparently adding the finishing touches in the following year, for the book contains what seems an allusion to the great defeat of the Saracens by Charles Martel, which took place in 732. Now we have four manuscripts of the *Ecclesiastical History* which seem to have been transcribed before the close of the century; and one of these, the 'Moore' manuscript at Cambridge, must have been transcribed in or before the year 737, since some chronological notes which must belong to that year have been entered on a blank page. The 'Moore' manuscript, then, cannot have been copied more than five or six years after the completion of Bede's work, and it may have been copied within a few months of that completion.

Then, from the ninth century, we have at least 7 manuscripts surviving, from the tenth 7, from the eleventh 11, from the twelfth and very early thirteenth 23, from the thirteenth 15, from the fourteenth 18, from the fifteenth 9 manuscripts and four printed editions, beginning from about the year 1475.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, by T. Duffus Hardy, I. i. 433-41. But as Hardy mentions many

What is even more noteworthy than the fact that we possess a manuscript written only a few years, or even months, after the first publication of the *Ecclesiastical History*, is the fact that this manuscript, early as it is, is not the original of the rest. Only one manuscript of any importance has so far been proved to be derived from the 'Moore' manuscript. The other oldest manuscripts are not derived from the 'Moore' manuscript, nor from any other extant manuscript.

The continuity of this tradition affords a striking contrast to the fate of classics like Catullus or Lucretius, forgotten by the world until the end of the Middle Ages, and then discovered only in a single copy, or in transcripts which can all be traced back to some not very remote archetype. An equally striking contrast is supplied by the *Annals* of Tacitus, partly lost, partly dependent (so far at any rate as the first six books are concerned) upon a single manuscript, copied some nine hundred years after the *Annals* were composed. The *Ecclesiastical History*, on the other hand, has come down to us by distinct channels which can be proved, by many trifling divergencies, to have already become independent streams within half a dozen years, at most, of the publication of the book. That is to say, there has never been a time, since the *Ecclesiastical History* was fairly launched in the years after 731, when the destruction of one manuscript, or, for the matter of that, of a considerable number of manuscripts, would have endangered the transmission of the book.

As a matter of fact, such destruction did take place, and on an extensive scale. It is noteworthy that the overwhelming majority of the earliest manuscripts are foreign. Yet the subject, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, is not one which we should expect specially to interest the foreigner. The reason for the preponderance of foreign manuscripts is other manuscripts, of which he does not give the date, the totals for each century must be considerably in excess of those given above.



to be sought, partly in the amazing activity of English missionaries upon the Continent, but also in the overwhelming destruction of English manuscripts which took place in the eleven years between 867 and 878. For generations before and after those eleven years, monasteries and libraries were destroyed by the Danes: but at no other period was there such universal destruction. 'Everything', in the words of King Alfred, 'was harried and burnt up.' That this wholesale conflagration could not endanger the continuous handing down of the *Ecclesiastical History*, shows how strong, since the eighth century, has been the position in England of any author who, writing in Latin, could make himself a European reputation.

A further fact emphasizes this. Bede is not only the father of modern history: he is the father of English bibliography. Historians have drawn attention to the epoch-making fact that Bede begins his *History* by giving a list of his sources and authorities. It is even more important for us in this place to note that he concludes it with a bibliography of the works he had already published: Bede is the first, and certainly the most venerable, of English bibliographers. The overwhelming majority of the forty or fifty<sup>1</sup> books which he enumerates are still extant. Indeed, I would hazard the guess that it is quite possible that a larger percentage of late eighteenth-century novels is already lost, than of the works of the Venerable Bede.

But when we come to composition in the English language, the difference is marked. Every one knows the story of Bede's death-bed: how he spent his last days in translating the Gospel of St. John, and how he composed a short poem in English 'being skilled in English poetry'. But the gospel-translation has vanished; nor have any English poems of Bede been preserved, except this five-line death-song, recorded by the piety of a disciple. This serves to show how different

<sup>1</sup> It is in many cases difficult to decide what exactly constitutes a separate work.

has been the fate of the vernacular prose and verse from that of the Latin literature of the Middle Ages.

To trace the beginnings of this English vernacular poetry we must go back seven centuries behind Bede. Tacitus had noted the poetry of the Germanic peoples as the one kind of Annals prevalent among them: and when mentioning the death of Arminius he had recorded how, nearly a century after, he was still remembered in the songs of his people. Centuries later we hear of lays commemorating the history of the Goths, when they had left their homes on the Baltic, and were wandering over the steppes of Russia to the Black Sea. The Emperor Julian heard the Barbarians beyond the Rhine singing their wild songs, which he thought like the croaking of harsh-voiced birds. Whatever may have been thought in orthodox circles of the other views of the Apostate, no one protested against this literary judgement. Indeed, it received in the course of the next century the endorsement of one who either was at the time, or was later to become, a bishop. At Clermont, Sidonius Apollinaris had to live in the immediate neighbourhood of the Germanic tribesmen settled in the South of France. 'How can I write Latin verse,' he asks, 'when I live among the long-haired tribes, and am having to bear up under the weight of Germanic words, and am having to praise, albeit with a wry face, whatever the Burgundian, with his hair smeared with rancid butter, chooses to sing?'

It is much to be regretted that the cultivated Roman writers have not told us more of the productions of these 'barbaric lyres'. The words of Tacitus, and of the historian of the Goths, show the important part played in this poetry by traditional lays, dealing with the adventures of Germanic chiefs and tribes during the whole period in which they were warring, some in the pay of the Roman Empire, some against

it, until finally they overthrew it. But this literature would doubtless also include charms, proverbs, mnemonic verses, formulas used in the service of the gods, out of which a ritual drama might later have developed. The only thing which, at this early stage, is definitely mentioned by our literary authorities is, however, the semi-historical lay dealing with the history of the race.

But such semi-historical lays passed freely from one tribe to another, so that any deed of valour, any tragic struggle of any Germanic chieftain might form the subject of a lay among any Germanic tribe. Professor Ker puts it: 'If any one were to ask "What does the old English literature *prove*?"' the answer would be ready enough. It proves that the Germanic nations had a reciprocal free-trade in subjects for epic poems.'

It is interesting to note how this fact, so important in the history of literature, has been appreciated by Charles Kingsley. Hard things have been said of Kingsley as a historian. It should be remembered to his credit how he perceived (what no one in these days would dispute) that the story, found in the Latin of Paul the Deacon, of the fight in which Woden gave victory to the Longobards, is simply one of these old lays of the period of the Germanic migrations. But when Kingsley puts this lay into the mouth of a Goth, supposed at the moment to be in Alexandria, and destined ultimately to settle in Spain, he illustrates exactly how these lays travelled from tribe to tribe of the Germanic race:

Over the camp-fires  
Drank I with heroes,  
Under the Donau bank  
Warm in the snow-trench,  
Sagamen heard I there,  
Men of the Longbeards,  
Cunning and ancient,  
Honey-sweet-voiced.

Unless we get a clear perception of this 'free-trade' in subject matter among the Germanic tribes, the whole history of their heroic legends will be a puzzle to us. And there is nothing to surprise us in the fact that the constant and cruel inter-tribal warfare did not prevent the Germanic tribes from having common literary ideas and traditions, and even taking an interest in each other's work.

The same was the case in Ancient Greece. At the end of the generation-long struggle between Sparta and Athens, whilst the victorious leaders were pondering whether they should utterly destroy the enemy city, it was nevertheless possible for a Phocian musician to sing a monody from the drama of an Athenian poet in the presence of the assembled enemies of Athens.<sup>1</sup>

There is therefore no reason to be surprised at what the documentary evidence definitely proves: that when the Angles and Saxons came to England, they brought with them a mass of heroic lays celebrating the heroes of many different Germanic tribes. These lays have all been lost, but allusions to the traditions they enshrined remain. Of course native heroes were not forgotten. A favourite hero was Offa, son of the blind king Wermund, who must have ruled over the Angles when they were still on the Continent, about the end of the fourth century A. D. Both in *Beowulf* and in *Widsith* we have enthusiastic praise of the glory of Offa: but *Beowulf* is more concerned with Scandinavian kings, such as the Danish Hrothgar, of whom we also hear in the Danish history of Saxo Grammaticus, or Ohthere, King of Sweden in the sixth century, whose actual burial mound has been opened by Swedish antiquaries within the last few years. *Widsith*, curiously enough, is primarily concerned with the glory of Eadgils, King of the Myrgingas: and Eadgils and the Myrgingas are the very enemies against whom Wermund and Offa

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Lysander*, c. 15.

had to defend their Anglian realm. *Widsith* is a very early poem, and Eadgils was probably forgotten in England before the Norman Conquest: the legends of Offa, on the other hand, reinforced by other legends concerning the historic King Offa, who reigned in Mercia twelve generations after his continental ancestor and namesake, survived in the Midlands till at any rate about the year 1200.

But the Angles and Saxons also brought over lays dealing with Germanic peoples much more remote than the Scandinavian peoples to the North, or the puzzling Myrkingas to the South, or the Frisians to the West. One of the most familiar of all these names in England was that of the great Gothic King Ermanaric, whose kingdom, stretching almost from the Black Sea to the Baltic, had been destroyed by the Huns about the year A. D. 375. Sixty years later, the same adversaries had overthrown the Burgundian King Gundahari, ruling on the Rhine, and his downfall came to be known to all people of Germanic speech from Austria to Greenland. Corresponding to the *Gunter* of the *Nibelungen Lied*, or the *Gunnar* of the 'Greenland' lay, the English form of the name would be *Guthhere*: and the Burgundian king is commemorated under this name twice in the scanty remains of Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry. In the same scanty remains we have allusions to Attila (who died in 453), to Theodoric the Great, whose magnanimous rule in Italy ended with his death in 526, and to Alboin, who, after conquering Northern Italy, died in 572 or 573. The way in which these names are introduced show that they were household names in England. The historic perspective has, however, been lost, and these chiefs have all come to be regarded as living at about the same time; references to the captivity of Theodoric among giants show us also how legendary his story had become.

But with the later developments of these heroes we are not for the moment concerned. When, in the generation after

the fall of the historic Gundahari, Sidonius was vexed at having to listen to the lays of his long-haired Burgundian neighbours, we may be fairly certain that these neighbours would not be silent about the last terrible battle in which their fathers had all fallen fighting around their King. But the story would be very different from what it had become seven or eight centuries later, in the form in which the story of the fall of the Niblungs has come down to us.

This first period of Germanic heroic poetry we may date from the first century A. D., when the traditions about Arminius must have had their origin, to the seventh, when this poetry was, in England, brought into touch with scholarship and booklearning, in a way which had noteworthy results. During the intervening centuries this poetry had doubtless spread wherever the barbarian conquerors of Rome went. It is just conceivable that a fragment of it might yet turn up amid the sands of Egypt, just as a fragment of a Gothic Bible recently did: or a piece of parchment might be found embedded in an old binding in some European library: or some very old manuscript in a Spanish monastery might be found to have had some verses written upon its blank pages by a Visigoth, who happened to combine ability to write with a love of the old poetry. But we may be fairly sure that most of this oldest Germanic poetry was never written down at all, although many millions of lines must have been composed during these six or seven centuries, when every chief had his attendant minstrel, and when the recitation of this poetry was the recognized accompaniment of the evening feast.

Of all these verses, historical, gnomic, magical, encomiastic, mnemonic, epigraphic—for, as Tacitus said, it was their one form of memorial and of history—two short inscriptions only survive, which were written down before the date when Christian and heathen tradition were brought face to face in seventh-century England. Both examples are of a sternly

practical character. An alliterative (but not as a whole metrical) inscription in Southern Norway contains at least one distinctly metrical line:

Ek Wiwaz after Woðuriðe  
witaða-halaiban worahto runoz.

'I Wiwaz in memory of Wothurithaz

Wrought the runes for my rightful comrade (*or* lord).'

This sixth-century inscription has been claimed as the earliest example of Scandinavian verse. Even earlier is the inscription on one of the golden horns found near Gallehus, in Southern Jutland, which has been attributed to a date as early as A. D. 300:

Ek Hlewagastiz Holtingaz horna tawiðo.

'I Hlewagastiz son of Holt (*or* of Holt) made the horn.'

And the district where this horn was found is, as we know from Bede, the region from which came the Jutish settlers of England. There is of course nothing in the Gallehus inscription which we can call specifically English: at this early period the dialects of the dwellers on the North Sea coast, Frisians, Angles, Saxons, Jutes, have not differentiated sufficiently for us to find any phonological clue in this short inscription. But, when we 'praise famous men and our fathers that begat us', Hlewagastiz the goldsmith ought to be remembered among 'such as found out musical tunes, and recited verses in writing'. His verse is not as musical as Milton's, nor his thought as subtle as Shakespeare's; but at least it is metre, and it is sense; and since that is more than can be said of much of the Georgian poetry which I have read, it is not for us, in this century, to cast scorn on Hlewagastiz, the first man known to have combined rime with reason in speech which is the direct ancestor of the speech of Milton and of Shakespeare.

For the next step in the history of English poetry we have to wait some three centuries. The conversion of the English



to Christianity seems to have been an easy one ; there seems to have been little fanatical adherence to the worship of Woden or Thunor. But the love for the poetry connected with the old heathen life was so real as to make the champions of Christendom uneasy. At a much later date, when one might suppose the attachment to the old heroic poetry to be somewhat less intense, Alcuin had to warn the very monks of Lindisfarne against it. 'Let the word of God', he says, 'be read in the Refectory : there it behoves the lector to be heard, and not the harper, the works of the fathers, rather than the songs of the heathen. For what has Ingeld to do with Christ ?' Ingeld was the tragic hero of heroic song, alluded to in *Beowulf*, who had to choose between love of his wife, and the duty of revenging his father, whom his wife's kinsfolk had slain. But, as Alcuin goes on to point out, these pagan kings are now in Hell, and therefore it is wrong to mention their names with that of the King of Heaven.

It is this antipathy between the monk and the minstrel which explains the importance attached by Bede to the story of the dream in which Caedmon was commanded to celebrate the Creation of the World in the style of the old heathen lays. Many learned ecclesiastics were assembled, to decide what and whence such a vision might be. They decided that a divine grace had been conferred upon the poet.

'Nothing', the late Sir Walter Raleigh once said, 'is more striking than the way the English people do not alter':<sup>1</sup> and nothing could show better our typical English love of compromise than do the Christian imitations of the old heathen poetry. Inconsistency does not matter to the English mind, if only a good end is attained. This Christian epic is not afraid to tell us that the twelve apostles were glorious heroes, whose might failed not in battle when the banners clashed :

<sup>1</sup> Departmental Committee's Report on *The Teaching of English in England*, p. 224.

and this discrepancy is raised to noble poetry when the Crucifixion is described in terms applicable to the last contest of a mighty young warrior. At the same time that Caedmon was beginning this school of Christian poetry in Northumbria, Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, was doing the same thing in the South. The account of Aldhelm's achievement, as given by King Alfred in his lost *Handbook*, has been preserved by a later historian.

On the authority of Alfred's lost work,<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury tells us that the reason why Aldhelm composed the popular poetry (*carmen triviale*) which in his time was still current, was that his half-civilized flock used to depart to their homes as soon as mass had been celebrated. So the holy man placed himself, in the guise of a minstrel, at the bridge which they had to pass. When, after more than one performance, he had made himself popular, he began gradually to mingle words of Scripture amid the more amusing matter (*sensim inter ludicra verbis scripturarum insertis, cives ad sanitatem reduxisse*). Further, William quotes the opinion of Alfred, that at no period had there been any equal to Aldhelm as a writer of English verse, which he could either sing or recite.

That so very little of this Christian poetry has come down to us in early manuscripts is probably to be attributed to the wholesale destruction of written documents between the years 867 and 878. Precisely as in the case of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, most of our records come from abroad; and we are justified in assuming that if English verses are found abroad, they would, but for untoward circumstances, have been found in greater numbers at home. Caedmon's first hymn—a nine-line poem, and the only one of his compositions certainly extant—is preserved on the top of what was a blank page of the 'Moore' manuscript, which was written on the Continent, 'perhaps at Epternach or at some Anglo-Saxon

<sup>1</sup> William calls it *Manualem librum regis Elfredi*.

colony on the other side of the channel'.<sup>1</sup> As the 'Moore' manuscript did not come to England till the end of the seventeenth century, this hymn must have been written into the manuscript abroad. The lines must, however, have continued to be currently known in England, where we have other texts written down much later, so that this is one of the very few poems which have been preserved in more than one manuscript. Bede's Death Song,<sup>2</sup> a two-line proverb,<sup>3</sup> and a riddle<sup>4</sup> have also been preserved abroad.

There is one exception to this rule that all the early transcripts of English verse have been preserved on the Continent, and this one exception is of the kind which proves the rule. The only fragments of Anglo-Saxon religious verse of which we possess a very early transcript, certainly made in this island, are the lines engraved in runes upon the Ruthwell Cross: and this has doubtless been preserved only because it was an inscription too massive to be easily destroyed.

That 'Saxon poems' had been written into books at a period before the great Danish destruction, is shown by the statement that Alfred, in his childhood, received such a volume as a gift from his mother. The statement that till he was twelve years old he could not read, but used to listen to the recitation of 'Saxon poems' by day and night, till he had them by heart, shows what a large part memory still played in the preservation of this literature. Indeed, so far as we can interpret the rather obscure words of Asser, it would seem that the boy Alfred earned his prize, *quendam Saxonicum poematice artis librum*, not by learning to read it, but by having it read to him till he had it all by heart, and was thus able to prove that he had 'learnt' the book. It seems to have been rather the

<sup>1</sup> See the description by Bradshaw in the publications of the *Palaeographical Society*.

<sup>2</sup> St. Gall MS., 254.

<sup>3</sup> In Vienna MS. of Epistles of St. Boniface.

<sup>4</sup> Leiden, MS. Voss, 106.

learning by heart than the reading of *Saxonica carmina* which Alfred enjoined upon his children, Edward and Ælfthryth, and which he recommended to his friends.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, about a hundred years after Alfred's time, and more than three hundred years after this school of vernacular religious poetry had been begun by Caedmon and Aldhelm, three books were transcribed, about the year 1000, to which we owe almost all our knowledge of this poetry.

The Exeter Book ('one great English book, on all sorts of subjects, wrought in verse,' as it is called in the list of Bishop Leofric's donations to his Cathedral) contains about eight thousand lines of verse, almost exclusively religious and moral.<sup>2</sup> *Junius 11*, in the Bodleian, contains some five thousand lines: the *Genesis* and *Exodus* deserve special mention. The Vercelli Book, left on the Italian side of the Alps, apparently by some pilgrim on his way to or from Rome, contains between three and four thousand lines of verse.

There is reason to think that these three codices give us only a small proportion of the total body of old English religious poetry. The greatest of the poets was, according to Bede, Caedmon, and according to Alfred, Aldhelm. We have no evidence that the work of either is represented in these collections. It is true that Junius, when, in 1655, he printed the Bodleian manuscript, attributed the poems in it to Caedmon. But he had no evidence, and it is now quite certain that the Bodleian collection is a composite one. A school of religious heroic poetry, similar to that which had been founded by Caedmon in Northumbria, flourished among the Saxons on the Continent. As these Saxons had been christianized by English missionaries, it seems clear that these missionaries had

<sup>1</sup> See Asser, ed. Stevenson, 1904, §§ 22, 75, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Riddles may be included under this head. The composition of riddles seems to have been a favourite pastime of the higher ecclesiastics of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

carried with them their native institution of Christian heroic poetry.<sup>1</sup> But in 1875 Eduard Sievers showed that about six hundred lines of the Junian manuscript gave evidence, both in their metre and in their language, of being only an Anglo-Saxon transliteration of a Continental Saxon original. In 1894 long fragments of this hypothetical Continental Saxon original were discovered in the Vatican Library. The composite nature of the poems in the Junian manuscript was therefore finally demonstrated, though they all doubtless owe their ultimate inspiration to Caedmon.

Now, taking these three great collections, the Exeter, Vercelli, and Junian codices, we find extraordinarily little repetition. Although they are all collections of poems very similar in character, all the portions common to any two of them are 75 lines which occur both in the Junian manuscript and the Exeter Book (because a poem on Daniel runs parallel to a poem on Azarias), and a short address of the Soul to the Body (129 lines) which is common to the Vercelli and to the Exeter Books. It might reasonably be argued that the total *corpus* of religious verse must have been very great, to make it possible for three collections to be written down about the same time, with so little overlapping. For the writing and form of the three codices suffices to prove that they are not merely the three volumes of one collection, which have got separated. It cannot, of course, be proved that they have *no* connexion. Indeed it might be suggested that the Vercelli Book was formed by, or for, some man who already possessed a collection similar to that from which the Exeter Book was copied, and that repetition was therefore deliberately avoided. But even if we make assumptions like this, there is further evidence that these three volumes contain only a small portion of the religious poetry which was written in Anglo-Saxon times. Outside these three great collections there are about

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Priebisch, *The Heliand Manuscript*, 1925, p. 37.

a score of pieces of religious and moral poetry, preserved in many different ways. In two cases only do these pieces overlap the collections: the inscription on the Ruthwell cross gives lines which also occur in the Vercelli Book, and the Northumbrian Riddle, preserved at Leiden, occurs in West-Saxon form in the Exeter Book. The legitimate conclusion would seem to be that the total body of religious and moral poetry must have been very great, and that only a very small proportion of it is preserved in our three extant collections.

Side by side with this religious epic, the old heroic poetry lived on, as the poem of *Beowulf* proves. *Beowulf* shows how it was possible to combine the Christian spirit and the wild heathen legends; the author seems to be cherishing the same deliberate purpose as Caedmon or as Aldhelm. He wished to show how much the spirit of the old poetry could be brought into harmony with the spirit of the new teaching. Albeit his theme is avowedly heathen ('they knew not the Lord God, nor how to praise the Guardian of the Heavens, the Ruler of the World') it is not treated in the heathen spirit. The result is something very like the *Idylls of the King*, where stories

Touch'd by the adulterous finger of a time  
That hover'd between war and wantonness

are so treated as to be fit for reading in the garden of a Victorian rectory. Again we observe how the English people do not alter.

The fact that *Beowulf* approximates in spirit to the Christian heroic poetry may help to account for its preservation. Two fragments of heroic poems remain. A single leaf, dealing with the fight in Finn's Hall, survived in the Lambeth Library till the eighteenth century, although it has now been lost. Two leaves exist at Copenhagen, dealing with the fight of Waldere against Guthhere and Hagena (the Gunter and Hagen of the *Nibelungen Lied*, the Gunnar and Hogni of the *Elder Edda*).

They seem to have come from the binding of a book, and were discovered in England by the Iclander Thorkelin, and carried by him to their present home.

Now, when we consider that King Alfred deliberately set to work to have the English laity educated, so that they could read and write *their own language*, it is reasonable to suppose that books like *Beowulf* or *Waldere* may have been not uncommon, in the houses of Anglo-Saxon gentlemen in the tenth or early eleventh centuries. But the Norman Conquest meant an entire change in the composition and outlook of the aristocracy. Unless such books had found their way into monastic libraries, they would not have survived. And their chances of doing so would be small; for whatever a layman might do, this literature was taboo to the clergy. It was one of the charges brought against Dunstan that in his youth he had learnt the vain songs of ancestral heathendom.<sup>1</sup> His biographer rebuts this charge indignantly, as *scabiem mendacii*. The Laws of King Edgar forbade a priest to sing these songs, even to himself. A competent and energetic librarian, who had found such manuscripts on his shelves, would probably have ejected them as summarily as a Sunday School superintendent would remove the works of Nat Gould from his library. Fortunately for literature, librarians have not invariably been competent and energetic. But the odds were heavily against such volumes surviving, even long enough to be cut up for binding other books in the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth centuries. That two remnants have thus survived renders it probable that, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, a considerable amount of this heroic poetry must have existed in written form. The 'erroneous English books' of which Ælfric speaks may well have been of this kind.

The history of Old English prose literature is in marked

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, by B., in *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, 1874, p. 11.



contrast to that of the poetry. The prose literature seems to have been very limited in amount, and we do not seem to have lost very much. In spite of Bede's translation from the Gospel of St. John, there seems to have been practically no vernacular prose before the time of Alfred. The books of edification, kept in the churches, were all in Latin. We have the direct evidence of Alfred as to this. He is giving his reasons for translating into English the *Pastoral Care* of Gregory the Great. 'I called to mind', he says, 'how I saw, before it was all harried and burned up, how the churches throughout all England stood filled with treasures and books; there was a great company too of God's servants, but they could make very little use of the books, because they were not written in their own tongue, and they could in no wise understand them.' This refusal to translate into English had been, Alfred thinks, the deliberate plan of the scholars of old time, who had hoped to keep up a high standard of scholarship by refusing to tolerate translation. But this method had proved a failure, and Alfred suggests, as a deliberate innovation, the formation of a collection of English translations. 'And so,' he says, addressing each of his bishops in turn by name, 'it seems good to me, if it also seems good to you, that we should turn into the speech which we can all understand certain books which are most needful for all men to know.' Such an apology for innovation makes it clear that Bede's example in translating from St. John had not been followed at all generally. Except, therefore, for a very exceptional translation, interlinear gloss, or vernacular charter, we have probably lost little English prose literature prior to Alfred, because there was little to lose. And the prose literature which Alfred created has come down to us in a pretty secure tradition. The first of these translations was apparently that of the *Pastoral Care* of Gregory; for it is in the Preface which he prefixes to this translation that Alfred gives his plan

for a series of translations: 'and so, among the other many 'and manifold cares of this kingdom, I began to turn into 'English the book which is called in Latin *Pastoralis*. . . . And 'I will send a copy to every bishopric in my kingdom.' This meant an immediate circulation, about the year 894, of some ten copies throughout the kingdom: and it is interesting to note what has been the fate of these copies. The Preface was personally addressed to each bishop: 'King Alfred bids greet Bishop — with words of love and friendship'; and according to the name of the bishop we can tell from which diocese any extant copy has been derived.

Six copies have come down to modern times. The most interesting of all, *Cotton Tiberius B. xi*, was lost in the Cottonian fire, but is known to us through a transcript made by Junius. It seems to have been a copy used in the Scriptorium of Winchester. A blank space is left for the name of the bishop whom Alfred greets, and a note had been made that Archbishop Plegmund had received his copy; so had Bishop Swithulf [of Rochester] and Bishop Werferth [of Worcester].

It does not follow that this *Cottonian MS.* was the archetype of the other extant copies; even if they *were* copied from it, they may have received authoritative corrections giving them independent value.

The copies sent to Canterbury and Rochester have been lost. Presumably the great Canterbury fire of 1067 was responsible for the loss of Plegmund's copy: at any rate it is not to be found in the catalogue of books in the Cathedral Priory of Christ Church, made in the time of Prior Henry of Eastry (1330), although copies of four other English prose works issued by Alfred and his fellow workers are mentioned in that Catalogue.<sup>1</sup>

The copy actually sent to Bishop Werferth of Worcester is

<sup>1</sup> *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, by Montague Rhodes James, Cambridge, 1903, p. 51.

extant. It is now in the Bodleian (*Hatton 20*). An eleventh-century copy of this Worcester book, glossed in what is known to be a Worcester hand, is now *Corpus Christi Coll. Camb.* 12. The other bishops' copies have all been lost, but two have left descendants: *Cotton Otbo B. ii* is a tenth-century transcript of the copy sent to Hehstan, Bishop of London: *Cambridge University ii. 11. 4* and *Trin. Coll. Camb.* 717 are eleventh-century transcripts of the copy sent to Wulfsig, Bishop of Sherborne. Our six copies therefore represent four distinct textual traditions, which diverged at the time of publication, about the year 894.

The translation of Bede is represented by five manuscripts and a fragment, all belonging to the tenth or the eleventh centuries. The tradition of the other Alfredian translations is not so good. The 'Orosius' is extant in the contemporary *Lauderdale MS.*; the much later *Cotton Tiberius B. i* is apparently a copy of *Lauderdale*.<sup>1</sup> The 'Boethius' was preserved in the tenth-century *Cotton Otbo A. vi*, and in the early twelfth-century *Bodl. MS.* 180; there is also a fragment of the first half of the tenth century, *Bodl. MS.* 86; all three are independent copies of one archetype. Finally, the translation of the 'Soliloquies' of St. Augustine has had a very narrow escape from destruction. In the middle of the twelfth century a transcript of this was made. It seems remarkable that at that date anybody should care to transcribe books in a language which was so rapidly becoming unintelligible as was the classical West-Saxon. To this transcription (*Cotton Vitellius A. xv*) we owe our text: all earlier copies are lost.

Alfred's *Encheiridion* or *Handbook* has been lost. This is not surprising, for it was rather a personal commonplace-book for the entry of noteworthy passages, than a properly published book. It was, however, still extant when William of Malmesbury wrote in the twelfth century.

<sup>1</sup> There is said to be also a fragment in the Vatican.

Very similar has been the handing down of the other books which owe their origin to Alfred's inspiration: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the *Martyrology*, Gregory's *Dialogues*. The *Chronicle* was, as one might expect, the most widely copied of these. Seven copies have come down to modern times. One of them, the *Parker MS.*, must have been transcribed 'not much, if at all, later than 892', the year in which the *Chronicle* seems to have been launched. The other manuscripts are all much later, but it is noteworthy that, as in the case of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede, the contemporary manuscript is not the archetype of the later ones; for these later manuscripts sometimes preserve the correct tradition, even when the *Parker MS.* goes wrong.

Ælfric the homilist, writing a century after Alfred, tells us that there were erroneous English books admired by the ignorant, but that Alfred's translations were the only reliable books for those who did not know Latin.<sup>1</sup> The meagre way in which the *Chronicle* was kept up suggests that prose was dormant during the first two-thirds of the tenth century.

When we come to the age of Ælfric, the abundance of manuscripts seems a sufficient guarantee that a fair proportion of what was written remains. For example, when Prof. Napier made his collection of the homilies which go under the name of Wulfstan, he used 23 different manuscripts. Occasionally a homily is extant in one manuscript only, but more commonly in three, four, or five.

The catalogue of English books in the Cathedral Library of Christ Church, Canterbury, made in the days of Prior Eastry (c. 1330), leads to the same conclusion. It is difficult from the meagre titles to be certain in many cases what these books were: but most of them were Anglo-Saxon prose books of the school of Alfred and Ælfric: and most of the works have come down to us: in very many cases the actual volume which

<sup>1</sup> *Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, 1, 2.

was in the Canterbury library has survived. *Genesis anglice depicta*, Dr. Montague Rhodes James thinks was a volume like the Bodleian *Junius 11*, and possibly identical with it. The *Actus Apostolorum* may be a lost translation of Acts, or legends of apostles in verse, like those in the Vercelli Book. Gregory's *Dialogues*, Boethius, and Bede are the Alfredian translations: and the *Liber sermonum beati Augustini* may be a misdescription (natural enough in the fourteenth century) of the Alfredian translation of the 'Soliloquies'. The three books of sermons in English, even if lost, would probably have contained little not extant in the many other collections of sermons; and the two *Chronicles* can be identified with extant manuscripts. The *Herbarius* Dr. James would identify with *Vitellius C. iii*, the *Gospels* with *Royal 1. A. 14*, and the *Grammar* with a copy of Ælfric's *Grammar* in the University Library, Cambridge. The *Liber de ordine monastico*, and the *Regula Canonicorum*, remain to be accounted for. They have apparently been lost, but we have similar books (e. g. the Rule of St. Benedict) in both Anglo-Saxon and Middle English. Finally, the *Liber Edwini* is apparently a lost book by the Eadwine whose *Canterbury Psalter* is mentioned just afterwards, and is still extant.

During the last century of the Anglo-Saxon period a new group of narrative poems seems to have sprung up. The heroes of these lays were the great kings of the house of Alfred: Athelstan and Edgar, their successors and their kinsfolk. We hear of these lays more especially in the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury, who gives many stories which he has learnt *magis cantilenis per successiones temporum detritis, quam libris ad instructiones posterorum elucubrat*. Such stories are those of the birth of Athelstan, of the wrong Athelstan did to his brother, and his penitence, of the adventures of Edgar, *infamias quas resperserunt cantilenae*. Another such

tale was that of Gunhilda, daughter of Canute, who was married to Henry, emperor of Germany. *Celebris illa pompa nuptialis fuit, et nostro adhuc seculo etiam in triviis cantitata.* Gunhilda was falsely accused of unchastity, and none could be found to face the gigantic champion whom her accusers put forward, till a small page whom she had brought from England triumphantly vindicated the honour of his mistress. A century later Matthew Paris refers to the same story, as told *in conuiuviis et tabernis by bistriones*: and the fact that Matthew Paris gives the name of the page, *Mimecan*, seems to show that he knew more of the ballad than was merely to be derived from William of Malmesbury. Other chroniclers<sup>1</sup> give yet more of the story: the name of the gigantic champion, *Roddyngar*, overthrown by the page.

Many other tales, now extant only in Latin, are probably to be traced to similar *cantilenae*. Such are, for example, the stories told by a monk of St. Albans of the two Offas, one of whom is identical with the Continental Offa whose achievements had supplied material for the stories brought over by the invading Angles and Saxons, and which had got strangely blended with the deeds of the historic Offa II, King of Mercia. The secondary characters in the story are provided with a double set of names: *Hic Riganus binominis fuit: vocabatur enim alio nomine Aliel.* The story was evidently known in two versions, which the Latin writer had to harmonize. Freeman has pointed to the same feature of a double name, indicating a double tradition, in a story which William of Malmesbury derives from ballad sources.

The tale of Gado is told by Walter Map, and is probably one of the 'tales of Wade' to which Chaucer refers; in this tale of Gado Offa is also one of the principal characters.

As these *cantilenae* were already ancient, *per successiones temporum detritae*, in the days of William of Malmesbury

<sup>1</sup> Ralph of Diceto, I, 174; compare Twysden, *Scriptores Decem*, col. 933.

(c. 1125) they must have originated before the Norman Conquest. It is noteworthy that during the century before the Conquest a new kind of metre was becoming prevalent. In this new metre the structure of the lines seems to have been much more free than in the case of the strict alliterative measure, and in place of the alliteration, governed by very rigid laws, we have sometimes a loose alliteration, sometimes assonance or rhyme, sometimes nothing at all. This new, loose, measure is often spoken of as 'ballad metre', and it is sometimes rather hastily assumed that the *cantilenae* or 'ballads' spoken of by William of Malmesbury were necessarily in this free or loose measure, rather than in the stricter alliterative metre. Often, no doubt, they were: the six lines of a *Tale of Wade* discovered by Dr. Montague R. James in a Latin sermon are of this free type. But one consideration makes it probable that the stricter alliterative verse was also well represented among these lost ballads. We find such alliterative verse surviving in the latest Anglo-Saxon times. The *Chronicle* contains not only the passages in loose verse, but poems like that in praise of Edward the Confessor and of King Harold (1065), which shows a very great command of the old technique. And the *Battle of Maldon* (991), although occasionally rather weak metrically, nevertheless on the whole shows a marked survival of the old art. Then, after the Conquest, we have, for nearly three centuries, nothing but the loosest kind of alliterative verse, and extraordinarily few examples of that. Suddenly, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the strict form of alliterative verse emerges again, preserving many rules of correct Anglo-Saxon alliteration, which appeared to have been quite forgotten. Now it is quite possible, even in the late Middle Ages, that a monk, interested in history or in the charters of his abbey, may have puzzled out some knowledge of Anglo-Saxon prose. But that any one in the fourteenth century, from a study of Anglo-Saxon



manuscripts, could have recovered the rules of the old alliterative versification, if they had once been lost, is incredible. A continuous tradition, handing down these rules through a series of lost poems, is the only way of accounting for the phenomena.

The loss of these *cantilenae* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whether they were in 'free' verse or in the stricter alliterative measure, is to be attributed to the neglect of popular literature by the learned, rather than to any deliberate Norman-French antipathy to the English tongue. Philological hatred is characteristic more of the twentieth century than of the eleventh. In monasteries under Norman rule Anglo-Saxon prose continued, though feebly. Of the seven manuscripts of the Chronicle which have come down to us, three had become barren stocks long before the Conquest; but of the remaining four, three were still receiving additions in English a full generation after the Conquest, though an accident of mutilation conceals this fact in two cases. In the South of England a chronicle, now lost, was being kept up till 1121.<sup>1</sup> This was borrowed by Peterborough (presumably to replace a book destroyed there in the fire of 1116). It was copied at Peterborough, and received additions there till 1154. Accident has preserved a single page of an English chronicle which was being continued in 1113, 1114: how much longer it ran we cannot tell. But, with the close communication with the Continent inevitable in Norman and Angevin days, it was natural that the great historians of the twelfth century should write in Latin. Nevertheless, the value of the vernacular for instructing the ignorant was recognized, and the eight English manuscripts of the *Ancren Riwele*, the seven of the *Moral Ode* prove that religious literature of merit written in the vernacular, even during the early Middle English period, had a good chance of survival. Orm's autograph of the

<sup>1</sup> Plummer's *Chronicle*, II, liii.

*Ormulum* remained uncopied, but who can wonder? Still less surprising is it that, at a later date, the autograph of the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, which the author, Dan Michel, presented with his Latin books to the library of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, should have remained a barren stock.

There is nothing to surprise us in a town keeping one official copy, and one only, of a cycle of Miracle Plays. In that case the disappearance of the plays is easily accounted for, especially if, at the Reformation, the volume fell into the hands of a puritanically-minded prelate like Grindal. The elaborate details given by Mr. E. K. Chambers in his *Medieval Stage* enable us to form a good estimate of the proportion of lost plays to those which have been preserved.

As in the case of so many miracle plays, the fact that it was never 'utterly published' may account for the loss of a version of *Palamon and Arcyte* in seven-line stanzas. For if such a version ever existed, Chaucer may have refused to allow it to be transcribed, which would account for its being 'known lyte'. On the one hand, we have the *Canterbury Tales*, extant in some sixty-eight manuscripts, and on the other, the loss of

*Origenes upon the Maudeleyne*

or

*Of the wrecched Engendryng of Mankynde*

As men may in pope Innocent y-fynde.

In the earlier Middle Ages it would have been otherwise. Religious works had then a better chance of survival than worldly tales. It is surprising that Chaucer's many *Balades*, *Roundels*, *Virelayes*, should be so poorly represented in his extant works.

Turning to the alliterative poetry, we have the 49 manuscripts of *Piers Plowman*, showing how widely copied a book might be which, despite its rather provincial style, made an

appeal to the temper of the nation. On the other hand, the reference in *Piers Plowman* to

rymes of Robyn Hood and Randolf Erle of Chestre reminds us again of a vanished body of popular poetry. And poems like *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, or the *Alliterative Morte D'Arthur*, which should have appealed to every chivalrous gentleman in England, have had the narrowest escape from destruction. Despite the very difficult dialect of *Sir Gawayne*, which must have limited strictly the circle in which it could be appreciated, it is strange that we should have only one manuscript, and no allusion to the writer anywhere. Whether the *Alliterative Morte D'Arthur* is identical with the *Gest Historiale* of Huchoun of the Awle Ryale, alluded to by Andrew of Wyntoun, or whether that be yet another lost work, we need not inquire: nor yet whether Huchoun be identical with the Sir Hugh of Eglintoun of Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris*. That *Lament* shows how many Scottish Medieval poets have perished.

In England, the rise of standard English in the early fifteenth century, the disuse of dialect for literary work, and the introduction of printing, have done much; but they have not ensured the survival of minor literary work. One example of this may suffice. Miss W. Husbands, working at the minor novels written between 1770 and 1800, found reviews or notices of publication of 1,341; of these only 621 were in the British Museum: and when the Bodleian, the Advocates Library, and the Picton Library, Liverpool, had also been searched, all the novels forthcoming were little more than half of those known to have been published. I questioned on this subject the two pillars of English bibliography: the one thought that most of these novels had vanished from the earth, the other thought that most of them could probably still be found in country towns and country houses. Amongst the missing books is the *Fair Syrian* of Robert Bage, of which

a French translation, but no English copy, is forthcoming. Yet Scott thought Bage worthy of a place in his *Lives of the Novelists*. This paper will have served a useful purpose if it moves some one to find a copy of the *Fair Syrian* and present it to the British Museum.

For perhaps future generations will think hardly of us, if we preserve in every important library a complete set of the publications of the Bibliographical Society, whilst we allow the *Fair Syrian* to perish. For, as Robert Louis Stevenson put it, 'no man knoweth what he doth.' Monastic scribes and librarians thought they were doing God service, in that they transcribed and preserved so many copies of Aldhelm's *Epistola ad Acircium, sive liber de septenario et de metris*, whilst they neglected the vernacular poetry of the same beloved bishop, although it was the joy alike of simple peasants and of King Ælfred Æthelwulfing.

## THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

### NOTICES

THE Annual Meeting of the Society for the reception of the Balance Sheet and the Council's Report, and the election of officers and members of Council will be held at 20 Hanover Square on Monday, 16 March, immediately after the ordinary Monthly Meeting.

Sir Frederic George Kenyon, K.C.B., F.B.A., has been nominated by the Council for re-election as President for the ensuing Session, and Dr. Montague Rhodes James and Mr. C. W. Dyson Perrins as Vice-Presidents. Dr. A. W. Reed has been nominated as an Auditor, in place of Mr. J. P. R. Lyell, who retires. The following will be proposed as members of Council: Messrs. P. S. Allen, R. A. Austen Leigh, R. W. Chapman, Dr. E. Marion Cox, the Earl of Crawford, Messrs. Lionel Cust, E. H. Dring, Stephen Gaselee, J. P. Gilson, J. P. R. Lyell, Frank Sidgwick, and Dr. Henry Thomas.

At the Monthly Meeting on Monday, 16 March, at 5 p.m., Mr. Falconer Madan will read a paper on *The Oxford Press, 1660-1675; the struggle for a place in the sun.*

A case for binding Vol. V of *The Library* will be sent free of charge, with the June number, to all members of the Society whose subscription has been paid. Members who, before 1 June, send their copies of the four numbers with a postal order for 2s. 5d. to the Controllor, University Press, Oxford, will receive them back, post free, cased. Members who have not sent their copies for casing in previous years, by sending them now can have Vol. V and one additional volume bound for 4s. 6d., and further volumes sent at the same time for 1s. 9d. each.

## ANNUAL REPORT

THE Society has again, during the past year, suffered heavily from the deaths of especially valued members, notably by those of Mr. E. Gordon Duff, who may justly be said to have done more to illustrate the history of printing in England from its beginning to 1557 than any other single worker, Mr. Charles Sayle, of the Cambridge University Library, where he did much good work, more especially in his catalogue of its English books up to 1640, and Mr. Beverly Chew, Chairman of our American section, and most beloved and respected of American bookmen.

Numerically, losses by death and resignation have been more than made good by the election of new members, and the continuous growth of the Society since the Roll was reopened early in 1914 has not yet stopped. A membership of five hundred, which has now nearly been reached, may be taken as the maximum at which the Society can be worked on its present basis, and it is doubtful whether an increase beyond this number would be profitable. If the increase continues, it may thus be necessary once more to close the Roll.

Meanwhile, members are reminded that they can greatly lighten the work of the Hon. Treasurer by paying their subscriptions by Banker's Order, and that of Dr. McKerrow by ascertaining the price of any book they order from the Society's list and sending payment with the order.

During the past year £183 11s. 5d. was received from the sale of publications to members, much of it in small sums, and although this new record is gratifying, it entails a good deal of work. Only when the rule as to prepayment is obeyed is there a right to free postage.

The larger income of the Society has made it possible to

increase the size of *The Library*, which now contains our *Transactions*, and to illustrate generously any articles which required illustration. It is hoped that Miss Murphy's bibliography of *English Character Books* and a supplement of considerable size to Mr. Buxton Forman's *Bibliography of Meredith* may reach members simultaneously with this Report, and that Mr. Thomas-Stanford's Illustrated Monograph on *Early Editions of Euclid* will quickly follow, completing the books for 1924. Mr. Pollard is finding the final preparation of the copy and correction of the proofs of the *Short Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640* a much heavier task than he anticipated, but work of this kind usually quickens as it progresses and he hopes with the aid of his many fellow workers to get it out in the course of the year. Towards the cost of producing it £1,000 is waiting on deposit in the bank, so that it will make only a small demand on the income for 1925, most of which will be available for Dr. McKerrow's monograph on *English Border-pieces*, the illustrations for which are now being made.

The exhibition of books published at home and in the United States during 1923 announced in the last Annual Report, was held at the rooms of the Medici Society in June, and copies of the Catalogue were sent to all members of the Society. The exhibition attracted a fair amount of notice in the press, but much of this only appeared after it was closed, and the attendance was rather disappointingly small. It seems, however, that this is the best way, indeed the only way, of enabling those interested in the improvement of printing to obtain a periodical conspectus of what is being done, and it is believed that every year the Exhibition is held it will assume increased importance. Arrangements are, therefore, being made for it to be repeated next May and June, and it is hoped that members will do their best to visit it themselves and create interest in it among their friends.



## BALANCE SHEET

From 1 January to 31 December 1924.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
British and Foreign Entrance Fees	17	17 0	Printing, Paper, Casing, and Distribution, less proceeds of Sales of, and Advertisements in, <i>The Library</i>	615	4 7
British Subs., 1921-3	18	18 0	Rent	28	17 6
" 1924	573	7 0	Expenses of Meetings	12	11 6
" 1925	8	8 0	Income Tax	7	10
Life Members (2)	42	0 0	Bank Charges	11	4
Foreign Subs., 1920-3	11	11 0	Secretarial Expenses	3	15 0
" 1924	46	4 0	Subscriptions returned	5	5 0
" 1925	3	3 0	Research	32	7 0
U.S.A. Subs., 1921-3	36	12 6	Expenses of Society's Library	7	3 0
" 1924	277	17 6	Cheques returned from Bank (endorsement faulty)	13	0 0
" 1925	4	4 0	Petty Cash	8	10 0
Interest on Deposit and Investments	29	15 2	Balance at Bank 31 Dec. 1924		
Sale of Publications to Members	183	11 5	(£433 5s. 3d.) + £1,000 on Deposit	1,433	5 3
Amount reserved for cheques uncleared in 1924	192	0 3			
Cheques recredited	13	0 0			
Balance, 1 January 1924 (£402 9s. 2d.) + £300 on Deposit	702	9 2			
	£2,160	18 0		£2,160	18 0

R. FARQUHARSON SHARP, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Examined with vouchers and found correct,

ALEX. NEALE.

JAMES P. R. LYELL.

10 January 1925.

ASSETS.			LIABILITIES.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
£300 2½% Consols @ 58½	174	7 6	Estimated Liability for 32 Life Members	360	0 0
£100 3½% New South Wales Bond (1930-50)	77	0 0	Subscriptions received in advance	15	15 0
£100 5% Treasury Bond	100	10 0	Estimated cost of completing publications	350	0 0
Estimated value of Stock of Publications	800	0 0			
Balance of Account for 1924	1,433	5 3			

## THE FIRST ILLUSTRATION TO 'SHAKESPEARE'

By E. K. CHAMBERS

THE thanks of *The Library* are due to the Marquis of Bath for his courteous permission to reproduce the attached drawing and script by Henry Peacham, artist, schoolmaster, epigrammatist, and pamphleteer, from vol. i, f. 159<sup>v</sup>, of the *Harley Papers* at Longleat. Whatever may be thought of the relation of Peacham's text to *Titus Andronicus*, the drawing is at least of interest as the first known illustration to any play of the Shakespearian canon. Incidentally it may inform students of *Othello*, as well as of *Titus*, that to the Elizabethan mind a Moor was not tawny but dead black.

The document was calendared by Mrs. S. C. Lomas in 1907 (*H. M. Comm., Longleat Papers*, ii. 43), but has not received much, if any, attention from writers on Shakespeare. It consists of a single sheet, endorsed on a spare page—

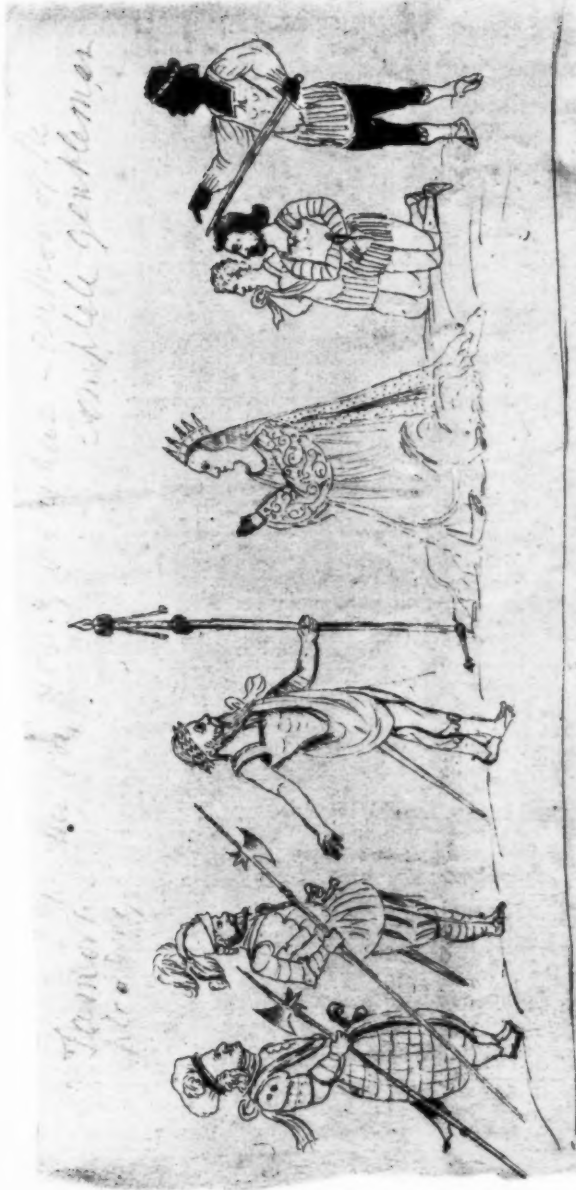
Henry Peacham's Hand  
1595

This perhaps enables us to interpret Peacham's own rather cryptic date 'm<sup>o</sup> q<sup>o</sup> q q<sup>o</sup>', although the second 'q<sup>o</sup>' taken by itself might represent either 'quinto' or 'quarto', and, unless 'q' is a slip for an arabic 9, it is difficult to see how it can represent 'nono'. Most of the Elizabethan papers in the composite volume were brought from Welbeck to Longleat by Lady Elizabeth Bentinck in 1759, and derive ultimately from the study of Sir Michael Hicks, a secretary to the first Lord Burghley. This may be one of them, although Mrs. Lomas does not identify the hand of the endorsement, which is not that of either Burghley or Hicks, and

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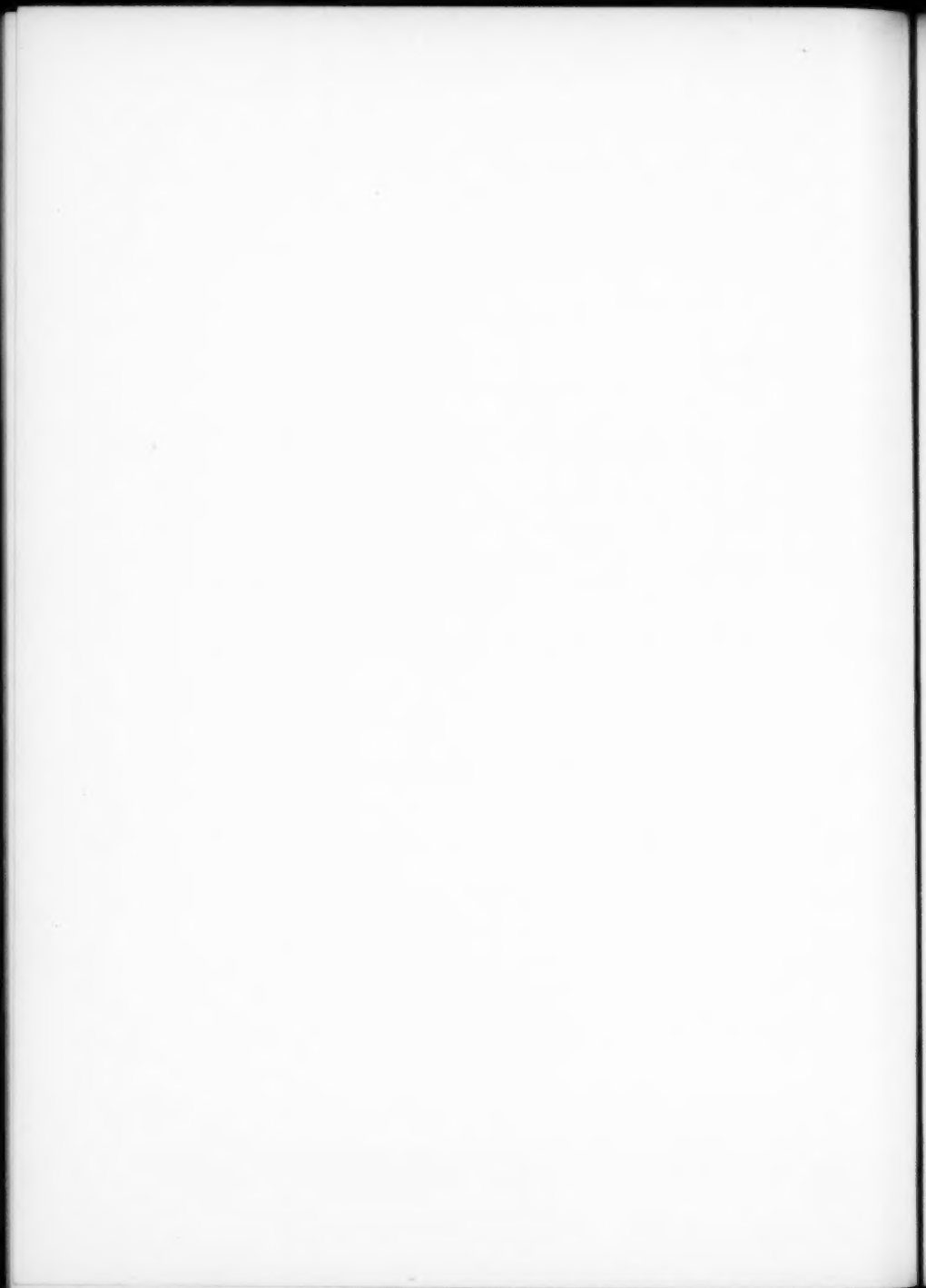


Enter Tamour pleading for his son  
going to execution

Tam: O my Domine such a piteous situation  
Disconsols thus are thy tears. O my  
mother's tears in passion of thy son  
and if thy son's death be dear to thee  
O my Domine my son's death be dear to thee  
O my Domine my son's death be dear to thee  
O my Domine my son's death be dear to thee

Exit Tamour  
My son's death be dear to thee  
My son's death be dear to thee  
My son's death be dear to thee  
My son's death be dear to thee

1



a pencilled reference in the margin to the second Sir John Thynne (1580-1623) may suggest that it had been preserved since the sixteenth century at Longleat itself. No doubt Peacham, born at North Mimms, is more likely *a priori* to have been in touch with Theobalds than with Longleat.

I now give the text of the dialogue which accompanies the drawing, and a collation of its variants, other than those of mere orthography, which are numerous, from the corresponding passages of  $Q_2$  (1600) and  $F_1$  (1623) of *Titus Andronicus*. Obviously, if Peacham used any extant print, it would be  $Q_1$  (1594). The only known copy is in the collection of Mr. H. C. Folger, and has not, I believe, been reproduced. The collation by E. Ljunggren in *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, xli. 211, shows no divergences as regards these passages from  $Q_2$ , except 'hay-stalkes' for 'haystackes' in l. 31, where the 'haystackes' of the manuscript agrees with  $F_1$ . But Ljunggren also neglects mere orthographic variants, and it is possible that the manuscript might prove to be generally closer as regards spelling to  $Q_1$  than to  $Q_2$ . Punctuation the manuscript has none.

Enter Tamora pleadinge for her sonnes going to execution

Tam: Stay Romane bretheren gracious Conquerors  
Victorious Titus rue the teares I shed  
A mothers teares in passion of her sonnes 5  
And if thy sonnes were ever deare to thee  
Oh thinke my sonnes to bee as deare to mee  
Suffizeth not that wee are brought to Roome  
To beautify thy triumphes and returne

1-2 Enter . . . execution]  $Q_2$  (l. i. 70) . . . enter . . . Tamora the Queene of Gothes and her two sonnes, Chiron and Demetrius, with Aron ( $F_1$  Aaron) the More . . . 3-20 Tam: Stay . . . madame = l. i. 104-21 as in  $Q_2$   $F_1$ , which end the last line with and pardon me. 3 Conquerors]  $Q_2$  Conquerer;  $F_1$  Conqueror. 5 of her sonnes]  $Q_2$   $F_1$  for her sonne. 7 sonnes]  $Q_2$  sonne;  $F_1$  sonnes.



- Captiue to thee and to thy Romane yoake 10  
 But must my sonnes be slaughtered in the streetes  
 for valiant doinges in there Cuntryes cause  
 Oh if to fight for kinge and Common weale  
 Were piety in thine it is in these  
 Andronicus staine not thy tombe *with* blood 15  
 Wilt thou drawe neere the nature of the Godes  
 Drawe neere them then in being mercifull  
 Sweete mercy is nobilityes true badge  
 Thrice noble Titus spare my first borne sonne  
 Titus: Patient your self madame for dy hee must 20  
 Aaron do you likewise prepare your selfe  
 And now at last repent your wicked life  
 Aron: Ah now I curse the day and yet I thinke  
 few comes within the compasse of my curse  
 Wherein I did not some notorious ill 25  
 As kill a man or els devise his death  
 Ravish a mayd or plott the way to do it  
 Acuse some innocent and forswear my selfe  
 Set deadly enmity betweene too freendes  
 Make poore mens cattell breake their neckes 30  
 Set fire on barnes and haystackes in the night  
 And bid the owners quench them *with* their teares  
 Oft have I digd vp dead men from their graves  
 And set them vpriht at their deere frendes dore  
 Even almost when their sorrowes was forgott 35  
 And on their brestes as on the barke of trees  
 Have with my knife carvd in Romane letters

20-2 for . . . life] *Q<sub>2</sub> F<sub>1</sub> omit.* 23-42 Aron: Ah . . . more = v. i.  
 125-44 as in *Q<sub>2</sub> F<sub>1</sub>, which have no & cetera.* 23 Ah] *Q<sub>2</sub> F<sub>1</sub> Euen*  
 24 comes] *Q<sub>2</sub> F<sub>1</sub> come. the] F<sub>1</sub> few.* 31 haystackes] *Q<sub>1</sub> haystalkes; Q<sub>2</sub>*  
 haystake; *F<sub>1</sub> Haystackes.* 32 their teares] *F<sub>1</sub> the teares.* 35 Even  
 almost when their sorrowes] *Q<sub>2</sub> F<sub>1</sub> Euen when their sorrowes almost.*  
 36 brestes] *Q<sub>2</sub> F<sub>1</sub> skinneres,* 37 carvd] *Q<sub>2</sub> F<sub>1</sub> carued.*

10 Lett not your sorrowe dy though I am dead  
 Tut I have done a thousand dreadfull thinges  
 As willingly as one would kill a fly 40  
 And nothing greives mee hartily indeede  
 for that I cannot doo ten thousand more & *cetera*

15 Alarbus

42 for] *Q<sub>2</sub> F<sub>1</sub>* But. 43 Alarbus] *This character has no speech in Q<sub>2</sub> F<sub>1</sub>.*

It will be seen that the speeches of Tamora and Aaron in the manuscript, but for the omission of the first line of Aaron's (v. i. 124), are substantially identical with those in the prints; and the slight verbal variants, even that of 'brete's' for 'skinner's', are not in themselves beyond the compass of a transcriber more intent upon his penmanship than his textual accuracy. But there are some odd features to be recorded. In the first place, while the references to Tamora's sons are not absolutely consistent either in the prints or in the manuscript, it is clear that the death of one only, Alarbus, is contemplated in the former, and equally clear that the death of at least two is contemplated in the latter. And this is confirmed by the drawing, which shows two bound captives kneeling behind Tamora. Secondly, in the prints Alarbus never speaks, but the manuscript ends with a speech-prefix for him. And thirdly, in the prints Aaron, although present, does not speak in the supplication scene, but in the manuscript he is given a speech which the prints put in v. i. and this is linked to Tamora's by two lines and a half for Titus, which are not in the prints at all. This is not necessitated by the drawing, in which the posture of Aaron—for the black figure must be Aaron and not an executioner—would need no alteration, if he were merely championing the princes and were not on his own defence at all. Are we then to infer that Peacham had before him an early version of the play and that this was afterwards rearranged? It would be a hazardous

conclusion, and it would of course be more hazardous still to suggest that Peacham was the 'private author' whose work, according to the tradition reported by Edward Ravenscroft in 1687, was touched up by Shakespeare. Peacham only took his bachelor's degree in 1595, the year of the sketch, and *Titus Andronicus* seems to have been played in some form by Sussex's men in January 1594, if not also by Strange's men in April 1592. And although Peacham saw Tarlton as a boy, and has allusions to the life of the theatre here and there in his epigrams and pamphlets, there is no indication outside the manuscript that he was ever a playwright. But why he should have perverted the Quarto text for the purpose of making an illustration of it, it is difficult to see.

A friend suggests to me that the sheet may have been done by Peacham for a competition in penmanship, and cites as an analogy the sets of verses on *Ecclesiasticus*, of which one is reproduced by Mr. McKerrow in his edition of Nashe (iii. 298). He may be right, although I do not see anything, in either case, which points very clearly to a competition. But a reason for the manipulation of the text would still be to seek. In general design the sheet is not unlike the pages of woodcut emblems in Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* (1612) or the coloured illustrations to King James's *Basilicon Doron* in Royal MS. 12 A, lxvi, which he gave to Prince Henry in 1610.

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A  
New and Accurate DESCRIPTION  
OF ALL THE  
DIRECT and PRINCIPAL CROSS  
R O A D S  
I N  
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

C O N T A I N I N G ,

I. An Alphabetical List of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market and Sea-Port Towns, in England and Wales, with their Market Days, and the Counties they are situated in.

II. The Direct Roads from London, to all the Cities, Towns, and remarkable Villages in England and Wales, with the Distance from each City, Town or Village, to the next on the same Road, and also the Distance from London, with an Account of the Seats of the Nobility and Gentry that are near the Road.

III. The Cross Roads of England and Wales.

IV. The Principal Direct and Cross Roads of Scotland.

V. The Circuits of the Judges in England, never before Published.

The Whole on a Plan far preferable to any Work  
of the Kind Extant.

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By DANIEL PATERSON,  
Assistant to the Quarter-Master-General of  
HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES.

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L O N D O N :  
Printed for T. CARNAN, in St. Paul's Church-Yard.  
MDCCLXXI.

TITLE PAGE OF FIRST EDITION

## 'PATERSON'S ROADS'

DANIEL PATERSON, HIS MAPS AND ITINERARIES, 1738-1825.

By SIR HERBERT GEORGE FORDHAM

THE name of Paterson was familiar to travellers on the roads of England during a period of about sixty years commencing in 1771, as the author of the Road-Book in current use and popular esteem; but Paterson, during his period of activity, produced a few maps as well as Itineraries other than his *New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross-Roads in Great Britain*, and his bibliography seems to be sufficiently characteristic of his period to merit some special study.

The object of the present paper is to establish this bibliography, and to associate with it what little is known of the existence of the man himself.

Born in 1738, and, from 1765, a commissioned officer in the army, it was not until 1766 that Paterson became known as an author. No doubt at that time already on the staff of the Quartermaster-General, he then published his first venture:

A Scale of Distances of the Principal Cities and Towns of England. Giving in all 4,560 distances in Measured Miles. By Daniel Paterson.

This is a single, large, engraved sheet, 724 mm. in width by 517 mm. in height, of which a copy has survived in the British Museum. A diagonal line drawn from the left-hand top corner to the right-hand bottom corner divides it into two parts. The lower section is completely filled with the table of distances in the triangular form invented by John Norden, and used by him in his *England: An Intended Guyde*,

# GREAT AND DIRECT ROADS

Measured from *London-bridge*:

With the Roads branching from them to the  
Market and Sea-Port Towns.

The Towns printed in **CAPITALS** are Cities. Those printed in *Italicks* are Post-Towns. The Letters R. or L. shew you are to keep to the Right or Left in going to the Town to which they are prefixed.



The First Column is the Distance from one Town to another.  
The Second Column is the Distance from London.

<b>LONDON to <i>Dever</i></b>			<b>Kingsdown</b>	3½	21½
To New-crofs, <i>Kent</i>		3½	L. to Troatesley	5	26½
Shooters Hill	4½	8	<i>Aylesford</i>	7	33½
Wellen	2½	10½	Barsted	6	39½
Crayford	3	13½	Sandway	6	45½
<i>Dartford</i>	1½	15	Lenham Heath	2	47½
Northfleet	5½	20½	Hothfield	6½	53½
Chalk-street	3½	24	<i>Abford</i>	3½	57
Stroud	5	29	Selling	7	64
<b>ROCHESTER</b>	1	30	<i>Hiths</i>	5	69
Newington-street	7	37			
<i>Sittingborn</i>	4½	41½	A little beyond Eltham is the Seat of Sir John Shaw, Bart. On the Right of 43, is Leeds Castle, the Seat of the Honourable Robert Fairfax. On the Right of 61 is Mergham Park, the Seat of Sir Windham Knatchbull, Bart. On the Left of 67 is Offenhamer Park, belonging to the Family of Finch.		
Ofspring	6	47½			
Boston-street	3½	51			
<b>CANTERBURY</b>	6	57			
Bridge	3	60	<b>LONDON to <i>Rye</i>.</b>		
Lidden	7½	67½	To New-crofs, <i>Kent</i> .		3½
Ewell	1½	69½	R. to Lewisham	1½	5½
Buckland	1½	71	<i>Bromley</i>	4½	9½
<i>Dever</i>	1	72	Farnborough,	4½	14
<b>LONDON to <i>Hiths</i></b>					
To New-crofs, <i>Kent</i>		3½			
Eltham	4½	8			
Foots Cray	4	12			
Farningham	6	18			

B

From *A New and Accurate Description*, 1771



*For English Travailleurs. Shewing in generall, how far one Citie, and many Shire-Townes in England, are distant from other.* London, 1625. 4°. In the upper is, in the right-hand top corner of the sheet, a skeleton map, showing the coast-lines and the county towns only, measuring 250 mm. by 320 mm., with the title: 'An Outline of England with the Situation of those places whose distances are Calculated in the Adjoining Scale.' The remaining space in this upper section is nearly filled by the title, as transcribed above, and by explanatory notes. Below the bottom border of the sheet: 'Publish'd according to Act of Parliament, April 1766, for y<sup>e</sup> Author, & Sold at Austin's Print Warehouse, in Bond Street, by Mr. Parker, in Cornhill, & Mr. Nourse, Bookseller to his Majesty in y<sup>e</sup> Strand. Price, 5s.'

This was followed in 1771 by the more serious undertaking which, later, became familiar by the short title of 'Paterson's Roads', but was formally entitled: 'A New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in Great Britain. . . . The Whole on a Plan far preferable to any Work of the Kind Extant.' Paterson, who was then commissioned as Ensign in the 30th regiment of Foot, describes himself, on the title-page, as 'Assistant to the Quarter-Master-General of His Majesty's Forces', and dedicates his work to Lieutenant-Colonel George Morrison, the then Quartermaster-General, as 'his most obliged, and most obedient humble servant and assistant'. This dedication is dated: 'London, January 1, 1771.'

Standing 179 mm. high, the volume is a thin, clearly-printed book, small octavo in size, containing, with eight preliminary pages, (1) an 'Index to the Roads from London', pp. i to xv; (2) one to the 'Cross Roads', pp. xvi to xxi; (3) one also to the 'Roads of Scotland', pp. xxii to xxiv; (4) Itineraries, grouped under the above three headings, in the usual double-column form, numbered by the columns from

1 to 148, and, at the end ; (5) the 'Circuits of the Judges', on three pages of columns numbered 149 to 154. The total number of pages is 110, contrasting with the 848 pages to which this work finally attained in the hands of Edward Mogg.

The second edition appeared in 1772, 'Corrected ; With the addition of a Map, and other Improvements.' The map is 'A General View of the Roads of England and Wales', engraved by J. Ellis, and dated 1772, it measures 188 mm. wide by 150 mm. high, and is drawn on a scale of 60 miles = 1 inch. In his preface Paterson refers as follows to a second publication which first appeared in this year : 'Having thus, to the best of our Abilities, supplied the Traveller with a full and accurate Description of a much greater Collection of Roads than ever before attempted ; yet, as the different Routs which Travellers may have Occasion to take are almost infinite, and consequently not comprisable in a Volume of this Size ; we have, in order to complete our Plan, compiled, and published separately, a *Second Part* to this Work, entitled, A TRAVELLING DICTIONARY ; or, *Alphabetical Tables of the Distance of all the Cities ; Borough, Market, and Sea Port Towns in Great Britain from each other, etc.*' This publication, which passed through eight editions (1772-99), is described below.

The second edition of the *New and Accurate Description* is made up to 120 pages.

The third edition was published in 1776, with the map re-dated, and is stated to be 'Corrected, And greatly Improved ; with Additions'. It has 152 pages.

The title of the fourth edition is unaltered from that of the third. This edition is dated 1778, and contains a further augmentation, to 168 pages, and the small map, re-dated.

The fifth edition, 1781, differs from those preceding in length by the omission of the *Roads of Scotland*, now published separately, and the consequential alteration in the title

which reads: 'A New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in England and Wales.' The date has disappeared from the map. Bound up with this edition, in uniform style and type, first appears: 'A Complete List of all the Fairs in England and Wales, Fixed and Moveable, as settled since the Alteration of the Stile. Alphabetically arranged according to the Counties in which they are held. London: Printed for T. Carnan, in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCCLXXXI.' It is a 40-page pamphlet, and is mentioned in the preface as being sold 'bound up with the Book of Roads, or Separate, Price 6d'. There is nothing to connect Paterson personally with this compilation.

The sixth edition, 1784, follows that of 1781, and has 174 pages, including, at the end, an 'Index to the Country Seats' of 8 pages, which appears for the first time.

The seventh edition, 1786, is again unaltered from the preceding issues, but with augmentation up to 180 pages.

The eighth edition, 1789, remains unaltered, with a further accession of matter, bringing the pages up to 192.

The ninth edition, 1792, is 'With the Addition of near Eighty Pages, including considerable improvements in the direct Roads, many new Cross Roads, and a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Seats.' It has now 'A Post Table. Shewing instantly the Expence of travelling any Stage from five Miles to Twenty,' &c., with a version in French on the page opposite, and it has 234 pages in all.

The tenth edition, 1794, is 'With the Addition of near Ninety Pages, including considerable Improvement in the direct Roads, many new Cross Roads, and a great Number of Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats', and has 240 pages.

The eleventh edition, 1796. 'With the Addition of many more Pages,' so as to make 248.

In the twelfth edition, 1799, the roads of Scotland, together with a map, 191 mm. x 150 mm., 'A General View of the

Roads of Scotland,' drawn and engraved by Russell, are included. The title now runs :

A New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in Great-Britain. Containing the Direct Roads from London to all the Cities, the Borough, Market, and Sea-Port Towns ; shewing the Distance from each to the next on the same Road, and their Distances from London ; corrected as far as it extends, from a late actual Admeasurement, made by command of His Majesty's Post-Master-General.<sup>1</sup>

It is 'Including the Roads of Scotland, which were heretofore 'published in a separate Pamphlet ; and many other very 'considerable Additions and Improvements.' The dedication is 'To the Quarter-Master-General of His Majesty's Forces', simply. This issue of the *Description* is much enlarged as regards both the text and the number of pages (upwards of 486).

The thirteenth edition, 1803. There is only one map in this issue, that entitled 'A General View of the Roads of England and Wales', now re-engraved by Russell, and measuring 188 mm. × 155 mm. The title is again varied to :

A New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in England and Wales, and part of the Roads of Scotland ; With correct Routes of the Mail Coaches ; and a great Variety of New Admeasurements. . . . The Whole greatly augmented and improved by the Assistance of Francis Freeling, Esq. Secretary to the Post-Office, and of the several Surveyors of the

<sup>1</sup> This is John Cary's survey, upon which he based his *New Itinerary*, of which the first edition had appeared in 1798. Between Cary and the publishers, Longman and Rees, acting for Francis Newbery, the proprietor, there was a fierce and prolonged struggle at this time in the courts, to determine which of these two rival road-books was entitled to claim the original text, and which of the two books was thus a piracy of the other. Eventually Cary made out his case. The proceedings are fully reported by him at the end of the *New Itinerary* of 1802, and of *Cary's British Traveller* of 1803. There is inserted before the preface in this edition, as an 'Advertisement', a very caustic and almost abusive commentary on *Cary's New Itinerary*. (See 'John Cary, Engraver, Map, Chart, and Print-Seller, and Globe-Maker, 1754 to 1835', by the Author. Cambridge, University Press, 1925. 4°.)

Provincial Districts, under the Authority of The Post-Master-General. By Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, Assistant Quarter-Master-General of His Majesty's Forces.

An 'Advertisement' by the Proprietor, signed by Francis Newbery, 20 May 1803, sets out the history of the *New and Accurate Description*. It appears that Newbery became possessed of the copyright of this publication in 1788, by the death of a relation, who had originally purchased the work, and that he continued the publication through Messrs. Longman, of Paternoster Row. This statement is followed by a narrative and discussion at considerable length of the proceedings in the case of *Cary v. Longman and Rees*. A reference is also made to a Mr. Thomas Keith, the editor of this work, 'who prepared the former edition (1799) as well as the present', from which it is clear that, while Paterson's name was continued on the title-page, he must have altogether ceased personal responsibility for the publication after the edition of 1796, if not earlier. This view is confirmed by an expression of gratitude for his ready offer of service and of his sanction, 'to the worthy Author of this useful Publication, 'Lieutenant Colonel Paterson, who has no concern whatever 'in the Work, and whom I had not the pleasure of knowing, 'till after the wilful and unprovoked attack on my property'. This is in accord with Paterson's own statement that in 1785 he had withdrawn from works in which he had then been formerly engaged.

At the end of this book is found an appendix by the editor, signed 'Thomas Keith', made up of comparisons of the text of Cary and Paterson respectively, set in parallel columns, with comments, and running to sixteen pages. This edition, with much additional material incorporated, now makes up to 590 pages in all.

Fourteenth Edition, 1808. The title is that of the preceding edition, unaltered.

An entirely new map of the 'Roads of England and Wales', to fold, is issued with this impression. It measures 387 mm. by 455 mm., and is 'Published as the Act directs, March 1st, 1808, by Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, Paternoster Row.' The work itself is stated to be arranged on a new plan, and to be increased considerably, by new matter, as well as by new roads; though from the enlargement of the page a very small addition is made to the thickness. The book is now in fact a larger octavo than that of the issues which precede it (1771-1803). It stands 192 mm. high and has 608 pages.

Fifteenth Edition, 1811. Has the folding map of 1808, re-dated, with the addition of small maps of (1) the Isle of Thanet and Country adjacent, (2) Route from Deal to Hythe, (3) Route from Hythe to Rye, (4) Route from Rye to East Bourne, (5) Route from East Bourne to New Shoreham, (6) Route from New Shoreham to Chichester, (7) Route from Chichester to Fareham, (8) the Country round Southampton, (10) the Isle of Wight, all 'Thomson Sculpt', and (9) a Map of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, which has no plate number.

It has 622 pages. This is the final edition of the original work.

In 1822 its publication was resumed in an entirely new type and arrangement by Edward Mogg. The volume now stands 227 mm. in height. The details of the Itinerary are printed in a type and setting of remarkable beauty and clearness, and the work may be regarded as the final development of the road-book of the pre-railway period. The title is as follows :

*Paterson's Roads* ; being an entirely original and accurate description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in England and Wales, with Part of the Roads of Scotland. The Sixteenth Edition. To which are added Topographical Sketches of the several Cities, Market Towns, and remarkable Villages ; and Descriptive Accounts of the Principal Seats of the Nobility and Gentry, the Antiquities, Natural Curiosities, and other Remarkable objects throughout the

Kingdom : The whole, remodelled, augmented, and improved, by the addition of Numerous New Roads and New Admeasurements, and arranged upon a plan at once novel, clear, and intelligible, is deduced from the latest and best Authorities, including a table of the heights of Mountains from the grand trigonometrical survey of the Kingdom, and an entirely new set of maps.

It is London; printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, Paternoster-Row, and other publishers, and E. Mogg, Charing-cross, 1822, and is dedicated to the King. The eleven maps are all re-engraved closely after those of 1811.

In his preface, dated 'Charing Cross, August 1st, 1822', Mogg states that 'By the death of the late proprietor, and consequent transfer of the property to other hands the task of Editor to the present edition of Paterson's Roads has devolved on me', and this reference would appear to be to Francis Newbery, who had died in 1818.

The seventeenth edition, 1824, does not differ materially from that of 1822, except for the insertion of a small 'Map of the Mail Road from London to Holyhead, improved under the direction of The Parliamentary Commissioners', as Plate 11, and of a single leaf advertisement.

An eighteenth edition was also published by Mogg in several successive issues dated 1826, 1828, and undated [1829] and [1832].

An appendix of additional roads of iv + 44 pp. is added in 1828, as well as a small map of the 'Banks of the Wye'. In the final issue [1832] the work had reached its maximum of 848 pages of text.

It is not necessary to deal more fully with these reissues of substantially the same publication, but the following extract from the preface to *Mogg's Pocket Itinerary*, London, 1826, 12°, may be here inserted, as explanatory of certain matters connected with the general history of the *Roads*.

As the appearance of my name to a second work upon the same subject might seem to imply that I had ceased to conduct the one generally known as 'Mogg's New and Improved Edition of Paterson's Roads', I beg leave to state



that such is not the fact, but that on the contrary my best efforts will be directed to the future improvement of each succeeding edition of that book, and thereby endeavour to merit a continuance of the patronage with which, while under my direction, it has been so highly honoured. Before I quit this subject I must beg leave, however, to correct an error into which some portion of the public have fallen, have accused me of having lent myself to the revival of an old book, and thereby prostituting my name and neglecting my best interests, or metaphorically speaking, I have been charged with consenting to play second fiddle where I should have led the band. To this I shall merely reply that these and similar remarks could only have emanated from persons who had never condescended to read the preface to the same, wherein it is clearly and distinctly stated to be an entirely new book, as decidedly my own as the production of any one work can be the effort of one man, and with which the late Col. Paterson had no more to do than he had in the compilation of Ogilby's Roads in folio, or the Itinerary of Antoninus.

As has been already noticed, the Roads of Scotland ceased to appear incorporated in the *New and Accurate Description* during the period between 1781 (fifth edition) and 1796 (eleventh edition). They were, during this interval of time, published independently in two editions only, 1781 (fifth) and 1791 (sixth).

The title is unaltered during this period and runs: 'A New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads of Scotland. The Fifth [or Sixth] Edition, Corrected and Improved; with Additions. By Daniel Paterson, Assistant to the Quarter-Master-General of His Majesty's Forces.' This little volume may be called octavo, standing 177 mm. high. It contains 20 pages only, and consists of a title, index, and itinerary.

Reference is made also in the account of the second edition (1772) of the Roads to a 'second part', with the title *A Travelling Dictionary*. This publication ran through eight editions (1772-99), small 8°, and is commonly found, as it was intended to be, bound up with the Roads. The full title is as follows:

A Travelling Dictionary: or Alphabetical Tables of the Distance of all the Principal Cities; Borough, Market, and Sea-Port Towns in Great Britain from

each other. Shewing at one View the Number of Miles every City and Town in the Kingdom is Distant from any other, according to the nearest Direct or Cross-Road. Comprehending near Forty-six Thousand Distances, carefully collected from the best Authorities, and arranged in a Manner entirely new and plain. To which is added, a Table shewing the Distance of the Towns, Bridges, Etc. upon the River Thames from each other by Water. The Whole being a Second Part to the New and Accurate Description of the Roads. By Daniel Paterson, Assistant to the Quarter-Master-General of His Majesty's Forces.

Paterson in his preface is very laudatory of the English roads : 'Through the unwearied Industry and increasing Opulence 'of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom, the Roads in every 'Part of the Island are become so convenient for Travelling, 'that they are the Admiration of Foreigners, and the Pride 'of the Natives,' and, from this introduction, he proceeds to explain the object and method of his book. It consists of the title-pages and preface, with 179 tables, each on a page, constructed according to the scheme invented by John Norden in 1625 and already referred to. The book makes up 188 pages in all.

The *Travelling Dictionary* continues, in successive issues, unaltered, for four editions—second, 1773, third, 1777, and fourth, 1781. The fifth edition, 1787, is described on the title-page as 'with great additions', and as now containing above fifty thousand distances. There are 214 tables, as compared with 179 in the preceding issues, making up, in all, 220 pages. The following editions—sixth, 1792, seventh, 1797, and eighth, 1799, are unaltered from the fifth.

One other road-book, bearing Paterson's name, is closely connected with his original *New and Accurate Description*.

In 1803 Cary published an abbreviated edition of his *New Itinerary*, and in the following year an epitome of the *Roads* appeared in rivalry. Neither work was popular, apparently, as no second edition was printed in either case, and both books are now uncommon. The Paterson epitome

is indeed so rare that, after many years' inquiry, I have only quite recently obtained a copy. The following is the text of the title :

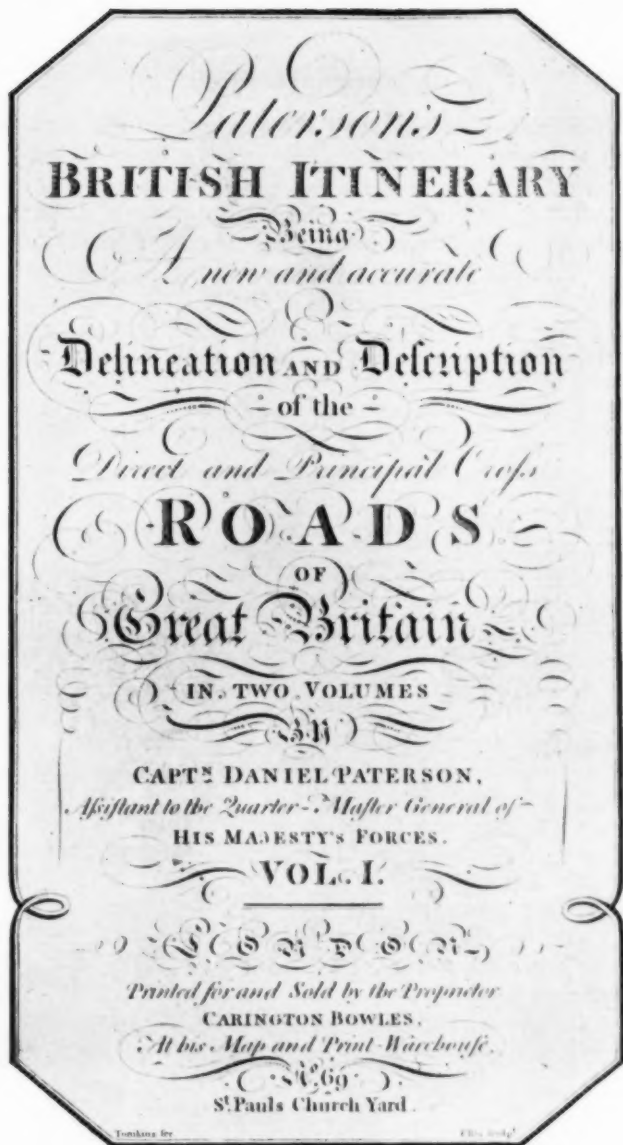
Paterson's Roads, in a pocket size, for the convenience of Travellers on Horseback : being a New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and the Principal Cross Roads in England and Wales, and Part of Scotland : with correct Routes of the Mail Coaches : a great variety of new admeasurements : and a General Index of the Roads to the different Towns ; denoting the Counties in which they are situated, their Market Days ; and the Inns which supply Post Horses. The Whole greatly augmented and improved by the Communications of Francis Freeling, Esq., Secretary to the Post Office, and of the several Surveyors of the Provincial Districts, under the Authority of the Post-Master General. By Lieutenant Colonel Paterson, Assistant Quarter-Master General of His Majesty's Forces. London : Printed for the Proprietor, and sold by Messrs. Longman & Rees, Paternoster-Row ; and Mr. Faden, Charing Cross. 1804.

A 'Preamble' states that 'This Epitome of the *Thirteenth Edition* of Colonel Paterson's Description of the Roads, 'published last year, has been prepared at the particular request of a number of persons in business, whose occupations lead them to traverse the kingdom on horseback, and 'to whom that work became inconvenient from its size.' The preface is dated : 'London, March 1804,' and is signed 'T. K.' (i. e. Thomas Keith).

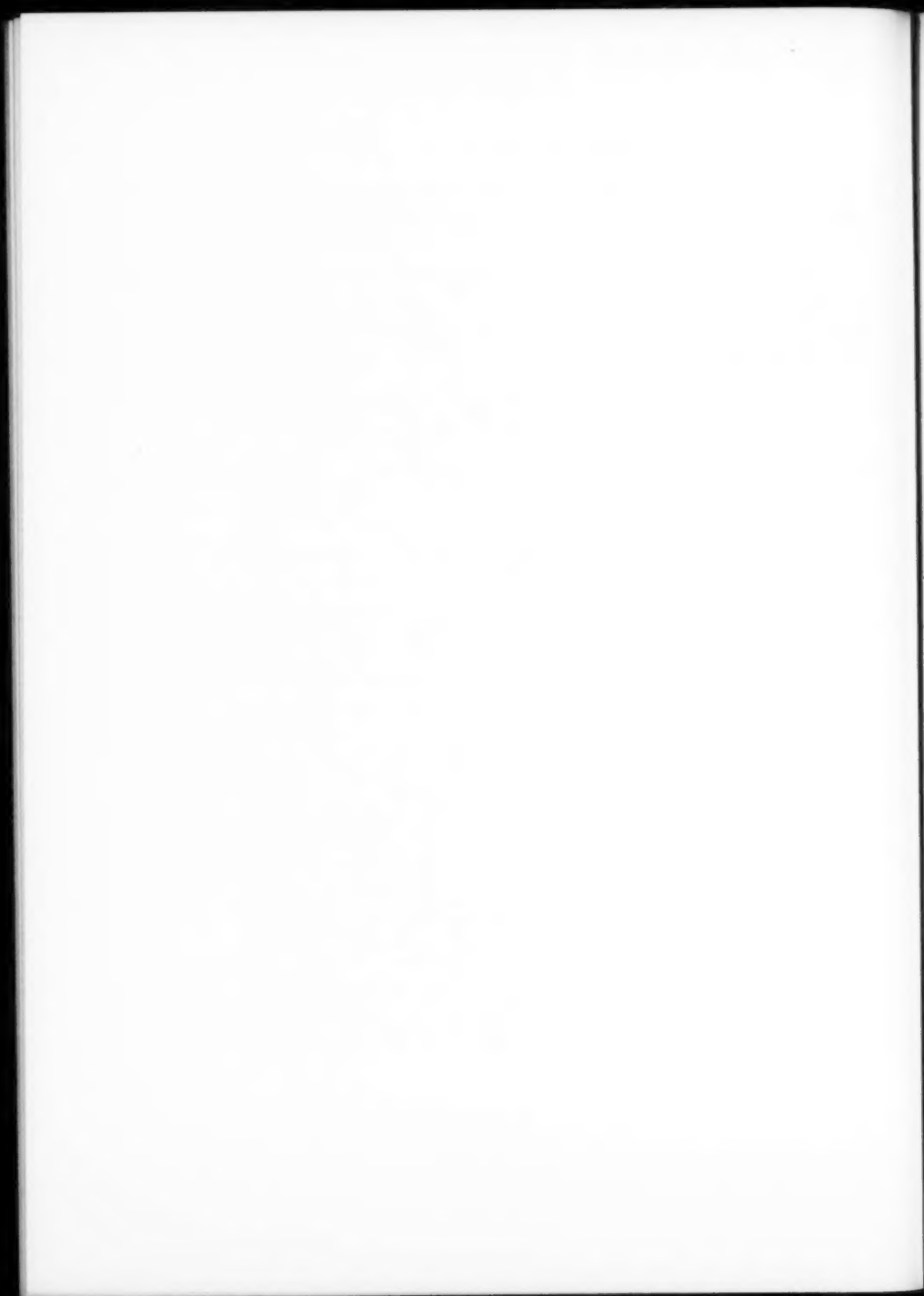
This little book is a duodecimo 159 mm. high, and is made up of a general index to the roads ; an itinerary in the usual double-column form, with a table of charges for posting, and the small map of the Roads of England and Wales, engraved by Russell, already noted. It is printed on thin paper on 304 pages.

The above described publications complete the series of *Paterson's Roads* and cover the whole period of that work, 1771-[1832].

Paterson also compiled an itinerary in a different form, principally made up of engraved road-maps in strips, following



Title-page of First Edition



the method adopted by John Ogilby in his *Britannia* of 1675, and utilized by Senex and others, and particularly in the *Britannia Depicta*, 1720, &c.

This work was undertaken for Carington Bowles, described in the preface as the proprietor. Paterson, as author, says of himself: 'The Author of the following Work, animated with 'a desire of excelling in his profession, and of executing the 'duties of his staff employment with that degree of accuracy 'and precision necessary for conducting the movements of an 'army, in such regularity and good order as is absolutely 'requisite for the good of the service; and, as a thorough 'knowledge of the *Roads, Towns*, and even *Villages of Note* 'in the Kingdom, must be allowed the first essential towards 'the wished-for accomplishment, he has, for many years past, 'made it his principal study to attain that end.' Paterson explains the methods he has adopted and the improvements he has made on early works of the same kind. He explains also that he has taken care to procure the most authentic Surveys of the principal roads of Great Britain, and that these are elegantly engraved in 360 columns, each comprehending about 18 miles in length, and nearly 5 miles of the circumjacent country in width.

In a note at the end of the preface, relative to the communication of particulars in changes of property and of alteration in the roads, readers are informed that the author has withdrawn all his interest and connexion from the other works of this sort he was formerly engaged in, and this statement, made in January 1785, seems to mark definitely the time up to which Paterson retained responsibility for the *Roads*, which would indicate the first six editions only (1771-84) as coming under his personal supervision.

The book now published under the title *Paterson's British Itinerary*, was in two small octavo volumes, and ran through four editions—1785, 1796, 1803, and 1807.

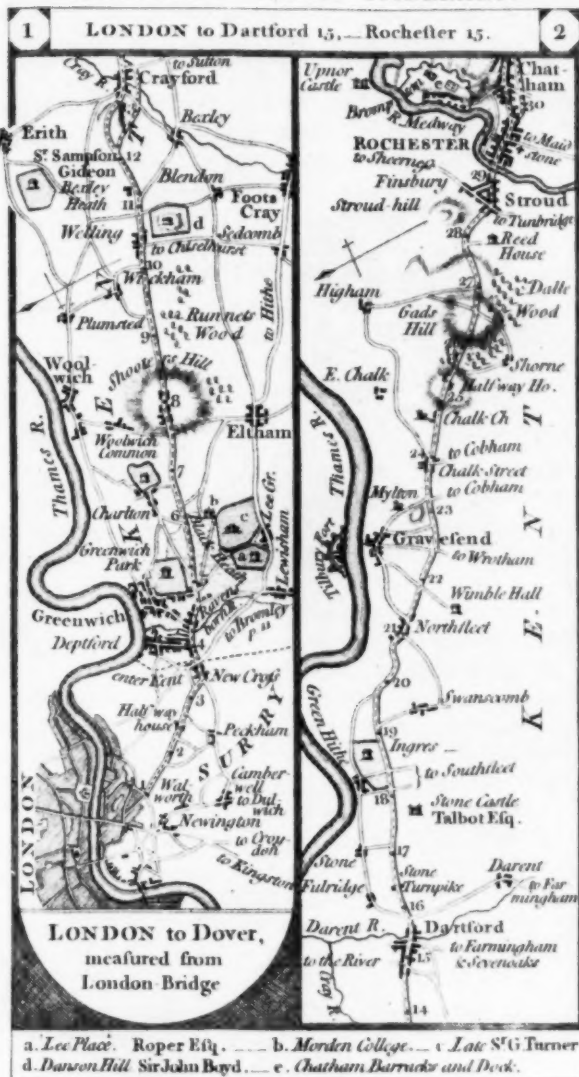
The first edition, 1785, has, as frontispiece to the first volume, a map of England and Wales, engraved by J. Ellis, with the title: 'A New and General View of the Direct Roads of England and Wales, as described in Paterson's British Itinerary. London. Printed for Carington Bowles,<sup>1</sup> 3 Jan<sup>y</sup>. 1785.' It is on a scale of about 55 miles to the inch, and measures 185 mm. × 161 mm., with an extension at the top, in the centre, to include Edinburgh and Glasgow. The title is engraved:

Paterson's British Itinerary Being A new and Accurate Delineation and Description of the Direct and Principal Cross Roads of Great Britain. In two volumes By Capt<sup>n</sup>. Daniel Paterson, Assistant to the Quarter-Master General of His Majesty's Forces.

It is followed by an engraved dedication to the King, signed by Paterson. The following pages are printed, including a table of contents, directions to the book-binder, the preface, an index to the direct roads, one to the cross roads, and another to the Scotch roads, 40 pages in all. This printed matter is succeeded by engraved plates in double, numbered columns, 'A Delineation of the principal Direct Roads of Great Britain,' columns 1 to 188, or 94 pages. The printed text is then resumed, giving an Itinerary of the roads 'of Lesser Note, or branching from the greater', in double, numbered columns, followed by the Circuits of the Judges, 40 pages in all, which completes Vol. I, making up 178 pages. Vol. II is made up, in a similar manner, of the engraved title-page, followed by an engraved itinerary of the Direct Roads,

<sup>1</sup> The activity of the Bowles family as topographical publishers extended over about a century, counting from the earliest issue of the *Britannia Depicta* in 1720 by the first Thomas Bowles, of whose publications a catalogue is engraved on the back of the title-page of some copies of that work. A pedigree of the Bowles family and some other particulars will be found in a note to the Supplement to the Author's 'Hertfordshire Maps', at pp. 5 and 6. (*Transactions of the Herts. Nat. Hist. Society*, vol. xv, part 2, March 1914, and private reprint, Hertford, 1914. 4<sup>o</sup>.)





Printed for the Proprietor CARINGTON BOWLES, London. 3. Jan. 1785.

From Paterson's *British Itinerary*, 1785



in columns 1 to 142, making 72 pages, the Branch Roads, in print, pp. 143-68 = 26 pages, the Cross Roads, of engraved plates, with title and columns 1-30, or 16 pages; part of the Cross Roads and the Roads of Scotland, in print, pp. 31 to 122, Thus this second volume has 206 pages, as compared with the 178 pages of the first. The arrangement and the alternation of groups of engraved maps and printed matter is curious.

The 'Second Edition Improved' was published in 1796. It is enlarged up to 450 columns of engraved road-strips, as compared with 360 in the earlier issue. The first volume contains the map of 1785 re-dated: 'Printed for Bowles & Carver, 6 Jan., 1796,' Bowles & Carver now succeeding to Carington Bowles in the proprietorship of this publication. The two volumes, with the additional plates and printed pages, have now 274 and 212 pages respectively.

Paterson is here first described as Assistant Quartermaster-General.

The third issue, still called 'The Second Edition Improved', is an exact re-impression of that of 1796, as is the final issue of 1807, both being published by Bowles & Carver.

The foregoing concludes the study of the bibliography, properly so-called, of Daniel Paterson, and it only remains to deal shortly with the three excursions which he appears to have made into the domain of cartography, and which differ considerably in character.

The three principal maps which bear the name of Daniel Paterson are dated, on the first examples known of each, 1780, 1791, and 1796. It is not certain that there were not earlier issues of those of 1791 and 1796. Two smaller maps, one of as early as 1773 and the other of 1795, have also been noted.

The map of 1780 is a detailed map of the Island of Grenada in the Windward Islands of the West Indies—a kind of cadastral survey which is stated to have been based on a French survey

of 1763, of which, so far as my researches have been carried in London and in Paris, I have found no trace. It may probably have remained in manuscript. Paterson's version has the title :

A New Plan of the Island of Grenada from the Original French Survey of Monsieur Pinel ; taken in 1763 by Order of Government, and now Published with the Addition of English Names, Alterations of Property, and other Improvements to the present Year 1780 : by Lieut<sup>t</sup>. Daniel Paterson, Assistant to the Quarter Master General of His Majesty's Forces. London, Engraved and Published as the Act directs, Feb<sup>y</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>., 1780 ; by William Faden, Charing Cross.

This title is written in the left-hand top corner of the map, and, in the right-hand bottom corner is a dedication : ' To His Excellency Lieut<sup>t</sup>. General Robert Melvill, Late His Majesty's Captain General, Governor in Chief, Etc. of the Ceded Islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago, in America ; This Plan of the Island of Grenada is most respectfully Inscribed, by His much Obligated, and most Obedient Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>. Daniel Paterson.' This is a very clearly engraved map, measuring 495 mm. in width by 807 mm. in height, in a single-ruled border, and is drawn on a scale of about 2 in. to the mile. It gives a good deal of detail, with hill-shading, and especially the divisions into estates, as numbered in the descriptive schedule described below.

A second edition appeared in 1796, the title being varied as follows, after the word ' London ', to ' Published August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1796, by William Faden, Charing Cross, Geog<sup>r</sup>. to His Majesty and to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. Second Edition.' This map is unaltered from the first impression except for the engraving on the left side, rather low down, of an inset ' Plan of the Town of St. George and Fort Royal ', measuring 112 mm. wide x 94 mm. high.

A third issue of this map, dated 1825, is quite unaltered from that of 1796, but the title is again varied, to read : ' Published by Ja<sup>s</sup>. Wild (Successor to Mr. Faden), Geographer

'to the King, and to H.R.H. the Duke of York, 5 Charing Cross. July 1, 1825. (New Edition).' There is yet another issue, of which a copy exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, again unaltered, but re-dated 1837.

In connexion with the original map of 1780, a fourteen-page 4° pamphlet was published in the same year, by William Faden, 'Price 1s. 6d. 12s. with the Plan.' Its title commences 'A Topographical Description of the Island of Grenada; surveyed by Monsieur Pinel in 1763, . . .' and continues in the same form as that of the map. Its principal contents (pp. 6-13) are tables of the 'Proprietors at the Cession in 1763', and of the 'Present Proprietors', with areas and the character of the plantations, and, on page 13, an 'Account of House Rent', &c., 1776.

The dates of these publications are a little puzzling having regard to the changes of nationality which took place during the wars of the period.

The Island was surrendered to the British on 5 March 1762, and was formally ceded to Great Britain in 1763. It was retaken by the French at the beginning of July 1779, and restored to Great Britain at the general peace (Treaty of Versailles, 1783). The Pinel plan may probably have been in existence, or at least in preparation, at the time of the capture of the Island by the British in 1762, and may then have been taken over and made official after the cession in 1763. Paterson's version was probably prepared in London, either as a basis for settlement of questions of ownership of property in the Island by British subjects, or in anticipation of its recovery. There seems no probability that Paterson ever personally visited the Island.

Paterson's second map was one entitled: 'Paterson's 'Twenty-Four Miles Round London, with Reference to 'Seats of the Nobility and Gentry,' of which the earliest example known is 'Published as the Act directs, 25 July,

1791'. It was 'Printed for the Proprietor Carington Bowles, No. 69 St. Paul's Church Yard, London', and is circular, in a square framework. In the angles are lists of property owners, which should number 419 in all, but some of the spaces are left blank. The square of the map measures 603 mm., and the scale is one of  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. to a mile. It is very fully and clearly engraved, and the border is filled up with various particulars. Engraved by J. Ellis and B. Baker, and it is stated that 'The Roads and Distances in this Plan are adjusted agreeable to those given in the British Itinerary, in two Volumes [1785-1807] by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Paterson, Assistant to the Quarter Master General of His Majesty's Forces', and also that 'The Whole of this Plan is laid down from Actual Surveys. . . .' It is: 'Printed for the Proprietor Carington Bowles, No. 69 St. Paul's Church Yard, London'.

Another issue dated 1802, and printed for Bowles & Carver, exists in the Guildhall Library, London. Alterations have been made in the names of the owners of estates, and there are other trifling changes.

This map was again issued by Bowles & Carver in 1809. There is a copy in the Cambridge University Library.

Later, the plate passed into the possession of George Frederick Cruchley, from whose press a copy, much altered on the plate generally, and with the whole of the details outside the map itself erased and replaced by scroll designs, was published with the address, 81 Fleet Street, in 1841 (1 January). It is called, on the cover: 'Cruchley's Excursion Map extending Twenty-Four Miles round London,' and shows 'all the Railways and Stations completed and now in progress'.

The third map to which Paterson's name is attached as author was a four-sheet map of England and Wales advertised by Bowles & Carver in 1809 as by Paterson and as one of a series of new four-sheet maps, of which it is No. 8. Copies

are in the British Museum dated 1796, 1804, and 1808. The title is not quite clear as to any responsibility to be attributed to Paterson for the draughtmanship of this map. It runs :

Bowles's New Four-Sheet Map of England and Wales ; comprehending all the Cities, Boroughs, Market and Sea-Port Towns, Villages, Lakes, Rivers, Forests, Ruins, Canals, and Principal Seats of the Nobility ; with the Roads, described by Daniel Paterson, the Distance of each Place of Note from the Metropolis, and a great variety of other useful Modern Improvements. To which is added the South Part of Scotland, and the East of Ireland ; with the Maritime Provinces of France, from Dunkirk to Brest, and Inland Country to Paris. London : Printed for the Proprietors Bowles & Carver, No. 69, St. Paul's Church Yard.

Below is : ' Publish'd as the Act directs 2 Jan. 1796.'

This title is engraved in the right-hand top corner, in a very large and ornamental upright oval frame. The map measures 1,008 mm. in width by 1,286 mm. in height, and is on a scale of about ten miles to the inch. It is drawn on the meridian of London, although Cary had adopted that of Greenwich for his large map of England and Wales two years earlier. This map is a very full one, with all the usual details.

Another copy was published unaltered, but dated : ' Publish'd as the Act directs, 2 Jan. 1804.'

A third impression is known, also unaltered, but ' Published 1808'.

A smaller map of England and Wales was published by Carington Bowles, as by D. Paterson, as early as 1773, just after the appearance of the second edition of the *Roads*. It has the following title :

Bowles's New Pocket Map of England and Wales, Revised and Corrected from the best Authorities ; with the Addition of New Roads, and other Improvements. By D. Paterson. Printed for Carington Bowles, at No. 69 in St. Paul's Church Yard. London. Publish'd as the Act directs, 2<sup>nd</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup>. 1773. Price 4s. Engrav'd by J. Ellis, Clerkenwell.

It is engraved in the right-hand top corner of the map, arranged in a rural landscape. This map measures 519 mm. wide by 598 mm. high. The scale is about 19 miles to the inch.



Another edition, unaltered, except for the addition of many shoals at sea, and of the packet lines, has the title entirely re-engraved with much decorative detail, to read :

Bowles's New One Sheet Map of England and Wales, with the Addition of New Roads, and other Improvements; By Daniel Paterson. Engrav'd by J. Ellis. Printed for the Proprietors Bowles & Carver, No. 69 in St. Paul's Church Yard, London. Publish'd as the Act directs, 6 Jan. 1795.

These maps resemble the four-sheet map already described in details and appearance.

It may be noted that another similar map, 'Bowles's New Pocket Guide through England and Wales : . . .', was issued by Carington Bowles, 6 Jan. 1780, but without any reference to Paterson, and that William Faden published 'A Map of England, Wales, and Scotland, describing all the Direct and principal Cross Roads in Great Britain, with the Distances measured between the Market Towns and from London; to accompany Paterson's Book of the Roads.' This was dated 12 August 1801.

It remains now to collect into as small a space as possible what little is known generally of Paterson's topographical work, and of his personal existence. Whether he was personally and financially interested in his various publications seems open to a good deal of doubt. His *Roads*, in their earlier form, may have been a venture of his own, but it will have been noticed that as early as 1785, in the preface to the *British Itinerary*, he expressly states that he has ceased his connexion with the previous publication, and this would leave only the first six editions (1771-84), at most, as issued under his personal care and supervision. If the same disclaimer applies to the *Travelling Dictionary*, Paterson would be responsible for the four first editions only (1772-81). The same suggestion applies to the fifth edition (first issue) of the separately printed *Roads of Scotland* (1781). The property in these works vested at this time in Francis Newbery, who continued as 'Proprietor'

until his death on the 17th May 1818, and to whom Mogg refers, apparently, as 'the late Proprietor' in 1822.

By whom the various editions later than that of 1784 were revised and corrected does not seem to be known, but an editor in the person of Thomas Keith appears at the end of the eighteenth century (1799), and Keith was in charge of the subsequent editions up to the 15th (1811), as well as of the epitome of 1804. This leaves the responsibility for issues later than 1784 and earlier than 1799 unascertained.

The *British Itinerary* and the maps of the country round London and of England and Wales were all the property of Carington Bowles and his successors, Bowles & Carver.

The *Roads* and the *Dictionary* were successively printed for J. Carnan, 1771-87; Francis Power, 1789; F. Power & Co., 1791; T. N. Longman, 1792-7, and Longman & Co., 1799-1811. From 1822 to [1832] the entirely new version was printed by Spottiswoode, for Longman & Co., and other publishers and Edward Mogg.

Paterson can hardly claim to have been much of an innovator. He worked out improvements in style, arrangement, and matter on lines already pretty well established by the middle of the eighteenth century in this country, and he did good service in this direction. A reference to my *Catalogue of the Road-Books and Itineraries of Great Britain, 1570-1850*,<sup>1</sup> will satisfy the most casual observer that, from John Ogilby's great work of admeasurement of the roads published in 1675, for a full century, a succession of road-books, road-maps, and itineraries, some of them in long series, supplied materials and suggestions of great variety for any one embarking on such compilations as those of Paterson.

He himself explains both his official and personal interest in the work he undertook, and by which his name has been perpetuated to our time.

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge University Press, 1924. 4°.

Of his life nothing is really known. Born, as it would seem from the particulars of his age at death on his gravestone in Clewer Church, on 17 December 1738, no records of his parentage or place of birth are available. He received a commission in the army, as ensign in the 30th regiment of Foot, on 13 December 1765, when he was twenty-seven years of age. The dates of his various commissions, until he attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 January 1798, at the age of 59 years, from particulars supplied from the War Office records, are set out at the end of this paper (pp. 355-6). He was Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Forces from 1804 to 1812. On the last day of the latter year he was, apparently, retired, with the sinecure appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, which he held till his death. He died at the house of his friend, Colonel Dare, on Clewer Green, near Windsor, on 14 April 1825, at the advanced age of 86 years and nearly 4 months, and was buried in a vault in the north aisle of Clewer Church on 21 April following. The inscription on the gravestone has been transcribed and is also given in the appendix (p. 356).

I have hazarded the suggestion that the Lieutenant-Governorship was a sinecure, for I can find no evidence that Paterson ever proceeded to Canada, and it is well known that a custom had grown up in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and which was the occasion of much complaint in the American Colonies, of granting to court favourites and others lucrative offices in these colonies, the claims to which were treated as proprietary rights, while the duties attaching to them were either neglected altogether or discharged by inferior and poorly paid deputies sent out by the patentees.

This supposition as regards Paterson is supported by the fact that at the date of his appointment he was 74 years of age, a time of life at which a man retiring from long service on the staff of the army would be little disposed for a voyage

by sea to so distant a place as Quebec. It has been observed that towards the end of his life Paterson had so completely sunk into retirement that in 1822 (three years before his death), in his dedication to the King, Mogg describes him as 'the late Lieut.-Col. Paterson'. While it will be noticed that Paterson held for a little more than a year (1801-2) a command of Invalids at the Tower, there is nothing to show that he ever did regimental duty, or saw active service. It is much more probable that, while borne for rank and promotion on the strength of various regiments, until he attained to brevet rank as major, he was throughout his whole service attached to the Head-Quarters Staff at the Horse Guards in London, and this is consistent with all we know of his labours in the literature of road-books, itineraries, and road and other maps.

By these labours he has successfully marked out for himself the small place in public notice and fame to which the official aspects of his life would hardly entitle him.

## APPENDIX

### I

#### Commissions and Service of Daniel Paterson

(From the War-Office Records)

Ensign, 30th Foot, 13th Dec., 1765.

Lieut., 30th Foot. 8th May, 1772.

Lieut., 49th Foot. 17th March, 1781.

Brevet Captain. 19th June, 1782.

Captain, 55th Foot. 18th Dec., 1782.

Captain, 36th Foot. 11th July, 1783.

Captain and Commandant Invalids at the Tower. 25th March, 1801, until 25th June, 1802.

Brevet Major. 1st March, 1794.

Brevet Lieut.-Colonel. 1st Jan., 1798.

Assistant Quartermaster-General. 1804-1812.

Lieut.-Governor of Quebec. 31st Dec., 1812, to death.

Died. 14th April, 1825.

## II

Inscription on a slate slab, 7 ft. in length by 3 ft. 8 in. in width, in the north aisle of Clewer Church

(December, 1924)

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF  
LIEUT. COL. DANIEL PATERSON  
THE RETIRED ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTER  
GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES  
AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR  
OF QUEBEC.

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE  
14TH OF APRIL 1825.  
AGED 86 YEARS 3 MONTHS  
AND 28 DAYS.

in

## ELIZABETHAN PRINTERS AND THE COMPOSITION OF REPRINTS

By R. B. McKERROW

**I**N an article printed in the Library in 1921 I argued that the Elizabethan printer composed his type page by page, adding catchword and signature immediately it was completed, and that the modern practise of having the matter of a number of pages standing in type at one time in long galleys and cutting it up into pages as required for imposition was unknown, or at least unusual. It followed from this page by page method that though a number of compositors may have worked at the same book in succession, it was only possible for one to work at it at a time, unless it could in some way be ascertained in advance exactly at what point of the copy each page should begin and end.

In the case of a prose manuscript such calculation is impracticable, if not theoretically impossible. In the case of verse it might be possible, though unexpected turnovers might occur to throw the calculation out, and it would be seldom worth the risk and trouble. When, however, the copy is itself printed matter the case is very different. It would generally be possible, at the expense of a little trouble, to ascertain the exact amount of copy which would be contained in a page of the reprint, and of course when it is a case of reprinting page for page there is no problem at all. For a page for page reprint as many compositors as the printer could supply with type could be set to work at the same time. It is therefore to be expected that the details of procedure will differ in the case of a reprint from those followed when composing from copy

B b

in manuscript. Let us consider how a printer is likely to have dealt with a book that he had to reprint.

If it was not to be a page for page reprint the chances are that he would proceed pretty much as if he were dealing with a manuscript. The only difference would be that if he was in a hurry, he could without any great difficulty divide up the work among two or three compositors and set them at work simultaneously. Thus, suppose the original print consisted of 24 sheets and he wished his reprint to be in 18 sheets he might divide it among three compositors with the instruction that each was to reduce his eight sheets to six. Within each of the three sections the work would proceed as if the compositor were working from a MS., i. e. the pages would have to be composed in the numerical order, and the whole of a gathering would have to be in type before any printing could be done.

Suppose, however, the reprint was to be page for page, everything would be different. It is to be noted that, of course, 'page for page' merely means with the same amount of matter in each page. It does not imply the same size of page or the same type or the same signatures or even a correspondence line for line. The essential point is that, the matter in any page being fixed in advance, the pages can be composed in any order most convenient and by any number of compositors working simultaneously.

There is, however, the question of the amount of type required and the necessity of so adjusting composition to machining that both compositors and pressmen shall be continuously employed. The printer's purpose would normally be to keep the type standing for as short a time as possible.

Now let us suppose a printer to be starting on a reprint page for page, about which he is not in any special hurry. If it is a folio there are three possible courses open to him. Let it be a folio in sixes. He will, of course, in any case have to



compose 6<sup>r</sup> before he can print 1, and 6 before he can print 1<sup>r</sup>, and so on. He may therefore (1) treat the gathering as if it were MS. and put all the twelve pages into type before proceeding to print, or (2) set up first 1, 1<sup>r</sup>, 6, 6<sup>r</sup>, completing each sheet of the gathering before touching the next one, or (3) he may set up all the outer formes 1, 6<sup>r</sup>, 2, 5<sup>r</sup>, 3, 4<sup>r</sup>, and print these before starting on the inner ones.

Were the book a quarto or octavo he would have merely the choice of composing all the pages in the normal order or of composing first all those of one forme and printing this before starting on the other.

It seems clear that in either case composition in the numerical order of pages is the least economical of type, as nearly double the number of pages required for printing must be composed before any go to press. At the same time other considerations might easily determine the printer to follow this method, and we cannot say that it would on the face of it be unreasonable. Can we find any evidence as to the procedure that was actually adopted?

Frankly, in the vast majority of cases we cannot. The order in which the pages were set up in type leaves no evidence whatever by which we can trace it. Suppose, however, that we could find some book in which the same illustration or block of an initial letter—which must, of course, be recognizably the same block and not merely a similar design—was frequently repeated, the repetition might tell us something. We should not, for example, expect to find the same block twice in matter which was all standing in type at the same time, and the intervals between the repetitions might give us some idea as to the amount that was kept standing at once.

Even here, however, we must interpose a caution. If a block were absolutely necessary to the illustration of two particular passages in the same sheet of a book, while it could not, of course, appear twice in the same forme, it might appear

in *both* formes even if these were set up in the normal page-order, for it would not be difficult for the compositor when setting one of the pages on which it was to appear to substitute another block of the same size and exchange this for the correct one when the latter had been released after printing the other forme. I have noticed what may be an instance of this in an Italian edition of Sacrobosco's *Sfera del Mondo*, Lyon, 1582,<sup>1</sup> which has the same block of a necessary diagram on i 3 and i 6. This would, however, have been a particularly easy block to move from one forme to another after the type was set, as it occupies the whole width of the page. But it is probably only in cases of this sort where a diagram or illustration is necessary for clearness that a shift of this kind—always more or less troublesome—would be made. When the block under consideration is merely an initial letter of no particular importance or significance, and the printer has several blocks of the same letter, it is most unlikely that he would trouble to make provision for the use of a particular one in a particular place.

Now let us imagine that we have a folio book in sixes in which many initial letters are used and which is a page for page reprint of an earlier edition, and see what effect the different methods of composition can have on the recurrence of particular initial blocks.

1. Suppose the printer composed his pages in the normal order. He could not then begin to print *at earliest* until he had composed sigs. 3<sup>v</sup>, 4, and it seems unlikely that he would print until the whole 12 pages of the quire were in type. Even, however, assuming that printing was begun at the first possible moment, pages 3<sup>v</sup>, 4 would hardly have been dis-

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, possible that this was a page for page reprint of another edition, and was set up by *formes* and not in normal page order—but even so there must, one would imagine, have been an original edition in which the pages were composed in numerical order, and in which the block must have been changed from forme to forme as I have supposed.

tributed in time for any of the material to be used in the remaining pages of the gathering. We may say that by this method it is perhaps just possible, though very unlikely, that material used in 3<sup>v</sup>, 4 might be again used in 6 or 6<sup>v</sup>, but that it is only in these pages that we could expect to find material used twice in a gathering. Note, that if we did find material used twice there is an equal chance for it to be used twice in the same kind of (outer or inner) forme, or once in an outer and once in an inner forme.

2. Suppose he set up first 1, 6<sup>v</sup>; then 1<sup>v</sup>, 6; then 2, 5<sup>v</sup>; then 2<sup>v</sup>, 5, &c., printing each forme as he composed it. By this method he could have perfected each sheet as he went along, a method which, if the ink dried quickly, might have been convenient.

If he had done this an initial might easily be released from one forme in time for it to appear in another forme of the same gathering, but as the two formes of each sheet were composed in immediate succession, no initial could appear on both sides of a single sheet, unless indeed each form was printed and distributed before the composition of the next was begun, a method hardly likely to be adopted unless only a single workman was available both for composition and machining, and one which would make the progress of the work intolerably slow. Further, by composition of the pages in this order there would be, as before, an equal chance of a block used twice in one gathering appearing once in an outer and once in an inner or twice in similar formes.

3. Suppose he first set up all the outer (or inner) formes of a gathering, 1, 6<sup>v</sup> (or 1<sup>v</sup>, 6), 2, 5<sup>v</sup> (or 2<sup>v</sup>, 5), 3, 4<sup>v</sup> (or 3<sup>v</sup>, 4), and then all the inner (or outer) ones. In this case, even if the formes were sent to press immediately upon composition, it is unlikely that material would be released from one outer (or inner) forme of a gathering in time to be used in another outer (or inner) forme of the same gathering. On the other

hand, if *all* the inner formes were composed after *all* the outer ones of the gathering it is quite possible that some of the material from the outer formes might be used again in some of the inner formes (or vice versa). There will at any rate be a much greater probability of material which is used twice in a gathering appearing in opposite formes than in the same.

Suppose that the method was to compose, print, and distribute all the outer (or inner) formes before touching the inner (or outer) ones, the same will be true except that material used twice in a gathering must *always* be in opposite formes.

Having gone thus far with theory let us turn to the particular example which gave rise to this little inquiry, namely a Barker's folio 'Bishops' Bible of 1591. This Bible, like several others of the larger Bibles, contains a great variety of initial letters, of which most of the larger ones are much-worn wood blocks, a few are evidently cast metal letters, and some may be either wood or metal. To any one turning over the pages of this Bible it must be evident that many examples of what are certainly the same block occur in close proximity to one another, and especially that the same initial is not uncommonly found on both sides of a leaf.<sup>1</sup> It seemed to me that it might be worth while to look into this matter more closely on the chance of its yielding something of interest as to the order in which the pages were set up, and I therefore made lists of the occurrences of certain of the blocks. It happens that, at any rate in the early part of the Bible, the letter A occurs with great frequency as the initial of a chapter. I therefore took eight different initial A's of each of which the printer appeared to have only a single block, and followed them throughout the book. The results were at least curious. I find that I have recorded 266 appearances of these eight initials, an average

<sup>1</sup> To give a single instance. In gathering 3 L the same I is found on both pages of leaf 1, another I on both pages of leaf 2, and an A on both pages of leaf 3.

of over 33 times each, two of them being used 41 times each, and at the other end of the scale two of them respectively 22 and 21 times. Six of the initials are probably wood, two probably metal, but it seems to me fairly certain that of these latter the printer only had a single block of each design.

In three cases, namely in signatures 4 G (twice) and 4 I, I found the same block used thrice in a gathering; in 41 cases twice in a gathering; but the interesting point is that in 37 out of the 41 cases the two occurrences of the block are in opposite formes (one in an outer and one in an inner forme), and only in four cases in similar formes.<sup>1</sup> In 19 cases out of the 37 the initial occurs on opposite sides of the same leaf, and in a further three cases on the page forming part of the same forme as the opposite page of the leaf.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from these I have noted down some 35 cases of other initials being repeated on two pages of a leaf, and these are taken from a portion only of the Bible.

Now, as we have seen, the only method of composition which would make it much more probable that if any block occurred twice in a gathering it would occur in opposite formes, is that of first setting up all the outer (or inner) formes and then all the inner (or outer) ones, and it seems clear that this was the method followed in this particular book.

But can we go further? Can we account for the very frequent occurrence of the same block on both sides of a leaf. I think that we can, though here, it must be confessed, we are treading on somewhat unsure ground. It seems, however, possible to infer that though the outer (or inner) formes must all have been set up before the inner (or outer) ones, the

<sup>1</sup> The most interesting gathering from this point of view is perhaps 2 H, where initials are repeated in the following pairs of pages: 1, 1<sup>v</sup>; 2, 5; 3, 5; 3, 3<sup>v</sup>; 2<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>v</sup>. In the last case the initial is cast and the identification of the block perhaps doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. such pairs as 1<sup>v</sup>, 6<sup>v</sup>, where 6, 6<sup>v</sup> are opposite pages of a leaf, but 1<sup>v</sup> would necessarily be in type and be printed at the same time as 6.

process cannot have been to get them all in type, print them and distribute before beginning the opposite formes, for in that case an initial would be equally likely to occur again in *any* page of the opposite formes, and out of our 37 cases of an initial occurring twice in a gathering, only six or seven should show it on both sides of the same leaf (as each might equally well be in any of six pages), instead of the 19 that we found. Printing and distribution must therefore have gone on concurrently with composition.

Actually, I think we may say that the process must have been something like this. The composition—which must obviously always have proceeded at the same average rate as the printing, must always have been on the average three formes ahead of the distribution, so that at one moment one would have had, say, 1, 6<sup>v</sup> just distributed, 2, 5<sup>v</sup> and 3, 4<sup>v</sup> at press, or in process of correction, and 1<sup>v</sup>, 6 being composed. The compositor of 1<sup>v</sup>, 6 has probably the material of 1, 6<sup>v</sup>, which perhaps he himself has just distributed, immediately before him. If he needs an initial similar to one which has just been released from that forme it is probably at hand, and he is more likely to take it than another. Similarly, when it comes to composing 2<sup>v</sup>, 5 the material of 2, 5<sup>v</sup> will just have been distributed, and the initials will similarly be available; and in the same way with 3<sup>v</sup>, 4 and the materials of 3, 4<sup>v</sup>. Thus, and, I think, only thus, can we explain that especial tendency to use the same initial on both sides of a leaf, which we meet with in this Bible.

THE ERRATA LEAF IN SHELLEY'S  
POSTHUMOUS POEMS

By PERCY L. BABINGTON

THE account given, in Volume V of Mr. Wise's Catalogue of the Ashley Library, of the make-up of the preliminary leaves of Shelley's *Posthumous Poems* raises the question of the priority of copies which lack the leaf of *Errata*. Mr. Wise writes: 'Title-page (with imprint at the foot of the reverse), pp. i-ii; Preface, pp. iii-viii; Table of Contents, pp. ix-xi; p. xii is blank; List of *Errata*, p. xiii; *A List of Mr. Shelley's Previous Works* . . . p. xiv. The signatures are A (a half-sheet, 4 leaves; a quarter-sheet, 2 leaves; and a single leaf—7 leaves in all), etc.'

Two facts seem to indicate that the single leaf (containing the *Errata* and the *List*) was an afterthought. Firstly, p. xii being blank would have been the natural place for the *Errata* had they been prepared before the publication of the volume. Secondly, the trouble of inserting, originally, a 'paste-in' leaf would scarcely be recompensed by the advertisement on its reverse.

My own copy of *Posthumous Poems* is in entirely original condition, in boards, all edges uncut, misprints uncorrected, and about fifty pages, towards the end, unopened. It contains no *Errata* leaf and shows no sign of ever having contained one.

Probably we may safely conclude that Shelley's *Posthumous Poems* was treated in just the same manner as a much later book—Meredith's *Modern Love*, 1892. In this case it is on record in Mr. Buxton Forman's *Bibliography*, p. 101, that 'later copies were issued with leaf of *Errata* inserted between pp. [viii] and 17'.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

*Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama: a series of studies dealing with the authorship of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century plays.* By H. DUGDALE SYKES. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1924. pp. 231. 12s. 6d. net.

As the sub-title of his book tells us, each of the ten 'studies' which Mr. Sykes has here collected is concerned with the authorship of one or more plays, or parts of plays, of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Several of the plays are anonymous; two of them, *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, and *Lust's Dominion, or The Lascivious Queen*, have come down to us in quartos of 1654 and 1657, in which they are erroneously attributed, the first to Chapman, the second to 'Christopher Marloe, Gent.' Bibliography by itself, though deeply concerned that every book shall be attributed to its true author, is very nearly helpless in dealing with such attributions, and only desires that literary critics shall settle such questions among themselves on evidence which it can accept. Hitherto the critics have relied very largely on the method of 'general impression', which (although here, as in the identification of 'hands' in palaeography, of real value in the early stages of an investigation) is difficult to expound to others, and apt in the case of different critics to lead to widely different conclusions. Mr. J. M. Robertson has stimulated, or supplemented, his general impressions by picking out rare words found in the undoubted works of an author and using their occurrence in other plays, or parts of plays, as a ground for attributing these to the same hand. This method, though it may quite reasonably confirm a general impression, is weakened by the probability that contemporary dramatists would go to see each other's plays, and being all of them on the look-out for vivid words would

retain in their memory some they had heard and reproduce them, consciously or unconsciously, in their own work. Mr. Sykes in these papers has extended the rare-word test by emphasizing the consideration of frequency, which in extreme cases sometimes enables him to obtain quite good results from words not at all conspicuously rare, and by working also with phrases, sometimes identical, sometimes only disclosing a similar train of thought. He clearly feels that he has in this method a key which should be applicable to every cypher. Thus, after noting that in ascribing the authorship of *The Queen, or The Excellency of her Sex*, to John Ford, he has been anticipated both by Professor Bang and by Mr. Stuart P. Sherman, he proceeds :

There can be no doubt that they are right. The artificiality of the plot, the cadence of the verse, the elevated rhetoric and marked tendency to hyperbole in the serious portion of the drama, the mirthless vulgarity of the prose scenes, all point to Ford. But merely to affirm this is not to prove that the play is Ford's, and to Mr. Sherman's statement that, to those familiar with his works, 'corroborative testimony of vocabulary, parallel passages, &c., is superfluous,' I would respectfully demur. If Ford wrote *The Queen*, his authorship should be deducible from its vocabulary and from a comparison of its language with that which we know to be his, and I propose here to show that its authenticity can be established by this method in so conclusive a fashion that those possessing no more than an ordinary reader's acquaintance with Ford will be able to recognize that its claim to a place amongst his dramatic productions is unquestionable.

To reach this result Mr. Sykes picked out from Ford's independent dramas a score of words as especially often used, including three so common as 'bosom', 'bounty', and 'thrive', and comments on them :

In his seven plays Ford has 'bosom' no fewer than forty-two times, or an average of six times in each play : 'bounty' and 'bounties' thirty-three times ; 'thrive', 'thrift', and 'thrifty' (together) thirty-one times. 'Fate' and 'penance' are of scarcely less frequent occurrence. The other words in this list, though they appear less often, are yet used with abnormal frequency, ranging from seventeen times in the case of 'antic' to nine times in that of 'sift' (= subject to a searching test). All but two ('nimble' and 'partake')

are to be found in *The Queen*—'bosom', 'bounty', 'chronicle', and 'penance' four times each; 'crave' and 'fate' five times; 'antic', 'destiny', and 'thrive' twice; 'thrift', 'dally', 'forfeit', 'proffer', and 'sift' once. Of these words 'antic' and 'sift' are perhaps the most distinctive.

By generalizing Mr. Sykes's argument in this case we arrive at some such canon as that 'If an author can be shown to have used a number of words or phrases, either normally or in a particular sense, more frequently than any known contemporary, the occurrence of several of these words used with corresponding frequency in any play, or part of a play, of unknown authorship, is adequate proof that such play, or part of a play, was written by this author'. In such a canon the chance of imitation is eliminated by insistence on a sufficient number of examples, and the weak evidential force of mere agreement is raised to a higher power by being accompanied by a provable difference from all contemporary authors known. In reprinting a paper written in 1920 to show that *The Spanish Gipsy*, ascribed by its publisher in 1653 to Middleton and William Rowley, is really the work of John Ford, Mr. Sykes punctiliously repeats one of his original examples ('hold . . . to the grindstone'), but acknowledges in a foot-note that he has since found it in Middleton's *Blunt Master Constable*. Obviously this instance must now be credited to both sides of the account, and it is mainly in deciding between the rival claims of a sufficiently limited number of authors for careful examination to be possible that a canon such as has here been deduced from Mr. Sykes's method comes into play.

The most striking example of Mr. Sykes's application of the test of 'frequency' is his deduction from the repeated occurrence of words and phrases by no means uncommon, such as 'zouns', 'I warrant you', 'O brave', 'as passeth', etc., that the prose of the *Taming of A Shrew*, *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, the additions to Greene's *Orlando*

*Furioso*, and the play of *Wily Beguiled*, are all from the same hand as part of the additions to Marlowe's *Faustus*, for which Henslowe paid Rowley and Birde in 1602, and *When you see me you know me*, published in 1605, 'as it was played by the Prince of Wales his servants,' with the statement on the title-page 'by Samuel Rowley, servant to the Prince'. Mr. Sykes's method certainly establishes some connexion between these plays, but in reprinting his essay (originally published by the Shakespeare Association) he would have done well to consider the peculiar character of the texts of some of them and have taken into account Dr. Greg's appendix 'On the suggested relation between Orlando and some other plays' in his *Alcazar and Orlando*. Dr. Greg suggests that 'the criteria by which [Mr. Sykes] judges may well be no more than tricks of the Tarlton Tradition in the Queen's Company' which Rowley may have caught up and reproduced in his own work. If the phrases relied on are Tarlton catchwords, their value in proving individual authorship is much reduced.

In vindicating Webster's authorship of *Appius and Virginia*, claimed by Rupert Brooke for Heywood, Mr. Sykes has to counter an argument akin to his own by explaining the presence of a number of special 'Heywood words' in the play, not as evidence of Heywood's authorship, but as due to Webster's borrowing from Heywood, the explanation being made more probable by the appearance of a smaller number of Heywood words in *A Cure for a Cuckold*, on which Webster was working immediately before *Appius and Virginia*. Again, in a foot-note to a paper supporting Peele's authorship of *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, Mr. Sykes explains a remarkable parallel between this and *Selimus* as more probably due to imitation by the unknown author of *Selimus* than to Peele having written this as well as *Alphonsus*. Thus critics who would pursue this special line of identification must needs still walk warily. On the other hand, supplementary helps present

themselves, e. g. Webster's fondness for quarrying material for sententious passages out of Sidney's *Arcadia* and Overbury's *Characters* is used as a powerful support to the arguments for assigning to him a share (with Massinger) in *The Fair Maid of the Inn* and (with Middleton) in *Anything for a Quiet Life*.

It would be interesting to pursue further this examination of Mr. Sykes's method in the nine non-Shakespearian essays in this book, but such space as can still be spared must be devoted to his suggestion that 'The Problem of Timon of Athens' is to be solved by recognizing that Shakespeare was here revising, and only partly revising, work of John Day (whose *Humour out of Breath*, licensed in April 1608, seems to allude to Timon as 'the lord that gave all to his followers and begged more for himself') and Middleton, whose claim to a share has already been asserted by Mr. W. Wells. Mr. Sykes by his usual method finds evidence of Middleton's hand in the 'dunning scenes' and in one of the four in which Apemantus fences in dialogue with Timon. The other three Apemantus scenes he ascribes to Day, from whose *Humour out of Breath* he quotes some notable parallels. Mr. Sykes supports this division of the non-Shakespearian scenes by the fact, which Fleay (the first critic with a quick eye for such points) had already noted, that while in i. i (after the stage-direction and Timon's greeting), ii. ii (except in l. 76), and iv. iii, the name 'Apemantus' in the Folio is correctly spelt, and shortened to 'Ape', on the other hand, in i. ii, which he assigns to Middleton, except in the stage-direction it is misspelt 'Apermantus' and shortened to 'Aper'. Mr. Sykes comments on the 'one solitary Apermantus' in ii. ii. 76: 'As it is the sole instance of this spelling as against sixty-three of "Apemantus" and "Ape", it is not unreasonable to suggest that for 'once the compositor failed to follow his copy.' Far from this being so the whole trend of the evidence collected by Prof.

Dover Wilson, Dr. Greg, and Miss St. Clare Byrne as to the division of responsibility for obsolete and erroneous spellings between authors and compositors is that the mistakes or archaisms are the author's and the corrections by the compositors, who occasionally, however, let one or more escape them, i. e. that in spelling it is when he is wrong that the compositor is most probably following his copy. While it is thus possible that Day spelt 'Apemantus' rightly and Middleton put in the offending *r*, it is at least equally possible that both wrote 'Apermantus' and that one compositor set himself (with two or three failures) to correct it and another followed his copy, as in proper names compositors had a special right to do. Mr. Sykes's case is sufficiently strong to dispense with this one piece of evidence 'of a purely bibliographical kind', and he would do well not to rely on it.

Another argument which Mr. Sykes uses to which exception may be taken is that which finds a proof of abbreviation in the inclusion in the initial stage-direction in *Timon* of 'a mercer', of whom nothing more is heard. In the case of an author known to have made fair copies this might hold good, but we cannot tie down Shakespeare in this way. If when he had given the Poet, Painter, Jeweller, and Merchant, who precede the Mercer in the stage-direction, something to say, he thought that this sufficed, he may have dropped the Mercer, without troubling to correct the stage-direction, just as he dropped Hero's Mother in *Twelfth Night* and was content to give both the Dukes in *As You Like It* the same name. A canon of criticism as to the evidence of stage-directions of the plays in the Folio would assuredly be more negative than positive, and here also therefore caution is needed. But Mr. Sykes in this and his other *Sidelights* has enlarged our apparatus for discovering authorship, and students should be grateful to him for these ten papers.

A. W. P.

*A Midsummer-Night's Dream.* (Edited by SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH and JOHN DOVER WILSON.) Cambridge University Press, 1924. pp. xxi, 176. 6s. net.

THIS *Midsummer-Night's Dream* in 'The New Shakespeare' comes to hand nearly a twelvemonth after its immediate predecessor, *Love's Labor's Lost*; but if it has been long in coming ample amends is made by its excellence. The volume would indeed be memorable even if it contained nothing new except Professor Dover Wilson's full exposition of the meaning of the disturbed line-arrangement in Act v, Sc. i. 1-84, where Theseus comments on the lovers' story of their adventures in the wood and makes his choice of an entertainment after the wedding feast. When Professor Wilson first expounded the import of this at a meeting of the Bibliographical Society in December 1918, he contented himself with showing that lines 5-8 (printed in the first Quarto as three) and 12-17 (printed as five and a half), which extend the comparison of the lunatic and the lover (itself a variation on Theseus' theme in the *Knights Tale* 'who may be a fool but if he love') to include poets, must be afterthoughts originally written in the margin, and imported thence into an earlier text. He now sets out the whole passage, exhibiting six other disarrangements, the text running on smoothly and connectedly without the wrongly-divided lines, but being lifted from immaturity to maturity by their presence. The last of these additions is the fine couplet

For neuer any thing can be amisse

When simplenesse and duety tender it,  
and the discovery that this also is separable from the older text, and marked off from it by the disturbed line arrangement, should carry conviction that here is Shakespeare in his full powers levelling up his earlier work by marginal additions, which spoilt the regularity of the manuscript sent to the printer, but give new life and dignity, as well as new humour, to the scene.



The certainty (for such it is) that the twenty-nine wrongly-divided lines are marginal additions to an original fifty-five suggests that they were written some years later than any modern editor would venture to date the ground-work of the play, and no one is likely to quarrel with the Cambridge editors for connecting this revision of it with the marriage of the Earl of Southampton in 1598. In an earlier form the play seems to belong to the latter part of 1594, if we may trust the allusions to the miserable summer of that year and to the lion which created a sensation at the Scottish court in August. The Cambridge editors accept this date, though with great caution as to the further supposition that it was written for the marriage of William Stanley, Earl of Derby, to Elizabeth Vere on 26 Jan. 1595. They think it necessary, however, to imagine a yet earlier stage of the text assignable to '1592 or earlier', though how a supposed reference to the death of Robert Greene in September 1592 'fixes the date of Shakespeare's original handling of the plot as 1592 or earlier' is hard to see. That the interlude entitled 'The thrice three Muses mourning for the death Of learning late deceased in beggary', which Theseus rejects as 'some satire keen and critical', should imply any reference to the death of Greene and the *Groatsworth of Wit* bought with a million of repentance, which he wrote on his death-bed, is far from certain, nor is it easy to agree that if Shakespeare was urged by his friends to answer Greene's attack in the *Groatsworth* this is likely to have been the form which his reply took. Professor Wilson writes:

In the circumstances, it would be difficult to imagine a retort at once more appropriate and effective. 'A Satire keen and critical about the death of Robert Greene, M.A.' Shakespeare seems to imply, 'would be easy to write; but the man is dead, and so enough.'

On the face of it, the satire would not be upon the death of Greene, but on those who had let him die in beggary, and if the author of *Greene's Funeralls* had expressed himself in an

interlude the reference would have been pointed. As they stand the lines offer no sure ground for dating or for supposing a version of the *Dream* earlier than that of 1594, nor does the early style of a good deal of the play necessitate a belief that such a version was ever completed. I have no doubt myself that some of the prose scenes in *As You Like It*, possibly some of those of *King Lear*, are written over earlier verse, but I see no reason to believe that these plays ever existed and were played in an earlier form. In his prentice days Shakespeare must surely have tried his hand on various themes, and some of this old material may have been used as a basis later on. If we imagine complete plays to have been written wherever we find traces of early work, his prentice days are in danger of becoming impossibly overcrowded.

Besides proving how fifty-five lines of Act V were increased to eighty-four in a rehandling which may be fixed in 1598, Professor Wilson develops Fleay's contention that the variations between the speech-names Robin and Puck point to two different stages in the evolution of the *Dream*, and in this connexion makes use of the new light as to when singing boys became available contributed by Mr. Richmond Noble in his admirable book on *Shakespeare's Use of Song*. He also adds a valuable 'note on the Folio text', in which he gives good reason for believing that this was set up not (as I had thought) from a copy of the Robert's quarto ('1600' i.e. 1619) which had displaced the Fisher edition as the theatre prompt-book, but from 'a clean copy' of this quarto of 1619 collated with the prompt-book in use at the theatre, which he supposes to have been still that of 1600. The point is important, as the care taken by the collator to copy non-literary stage-directions becomes evidence that the presence of patently theatrical stage-directions (such as 'Enter Tawyer with a trumpet before them') in the Folio must not be taken as proof that the text of this was set up directly from the prompt-copy. When

there was no existing quarto purchasable for sixpence we need not suppose that prompt copies were so lightly refused.

The stage history of Shakespeare's plays after 1623 is beyond my province, so that I can only note that Mr. Harold Child's account of that of the *Dream* is unusually full and interesting. Altogether, though Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch is by no means at his best in his Introduction, this is one of the best volumes of the New Cambridge Shakespeare, and must sharpen desire for more instalments of it.

A. W. P.

*The Two Dated Sonnets of Shakespeare.* By J. A. FORT. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1924. pp. 47.

MR. FORT's two 'dated' sonnets are No. 104 to which he 'can assign no date but March or April 1596' and 107 to which again he 'can assign no date but November 1598'. It is obvious that the word 'dated' on his title-page means no more than dateable, and in this sense No. 26 may be said to be 'dated' also by its close resemblance to the prose dedication of *Lucrece*, which connects it with May 1594. The strong points in the pamphlet are that the case made out for dating 104 in March or April 1596 seems sound, and that if the date be accepted the sequence of the sonnets up to that number can be satisfactorily explained. The crucial lines in 104 are:

Three Winters cold  
Have from the forests shook three Summers' pride;  
Three beauteous Springs to yellow Autumn turn'd  
In process of the Seasons have I seen,  
Three April perfumes in three hot Junes burn'd,  
Since first I saw you fresh, which yet are green.

Mr. Fort contends that if we observe carefully the process of the seasons as set forth in these lines, the poet must first have met the friend to whom the Sonnet was addressed in some April three years previously. Mr. Fort proceeds:

If, however, the poet and his patron first met in some April, we must surely place their meeting in that month on the eighteenth day of which *Venus and*

*Adonis* was registered with the Stationers' Company, i. e. in April 1593. We cannot place their first interview in April 1594 unless we suppose that Shakespeare was introduced to his patron a whole year after the publication of *Venus and Adonis*, while, if we place it in April 1592, we must suppose that a friendship which ripened so rapidly between April 1593 and May 1594 (see the Dedications to *Venus and Adonis* and to *Lucrece*) had made no appreciable advance in the whole of the previous year. In April 1593, however, Shakespeare, as he tells us himself ('I leaue it to your Honourable suruey') in the Dedication to *Venus and Adonis*, left his MS. of the poem with the Earl for the latter's perusal; he was then presumably asking for permission to dedicate the poem to Southampton; and, since it was in an April that he first met his patron, I suggest that the day on which he took his MS. to the latter was also the day on which he was first introduced to him.

This, as has been said, seems sound in itself, and its cogency is certainly increased by the fact, the strangeness of which has been hardly sufficiently emphasized by critics, that this amorous poem was specially licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. If Southampton was sufficiently pleased with the poem to bespeak the Archbishop's favour for it (and only the intervention of some one of Southampton's rank seems an adequate explanation of such a special licence), we have evidence of the friendship between poet and patron having begun with instantaneous warmth, and the rest of the story falls into place.

Mr. Fort's other theories are all interesting, but much less convincing. Even if, however, he has done no more than date this one Sonnet, his pamphlet is of more importance than most of the large books which have been written about the Sonnets.

A. W. P.

*Werden und Wirken.* Ein Festgruss KARL W. HIERSEMANN zugeeignet . . . zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag . . . Herausgeber: Martin Breslauer und Dr. Kurt Koehler. K. F. Koehler, Leipzig, 1924. pp. 421, pl. 50. 10½ x 7½ in.

THIS substantial blue-and-gold volume of quarto shape is a tribute to the veteran Leipzig bookseller and publisher which his bibliographical record well deserves. It begins with a short sketch tracing the industry and enterprise which carried him

from his obscure start as 'junger Mann' in the Leipzig house of List & Francke to his present position as head of one of the best-known firms of its kind in Europe. The twenty-one papers making up the body of the book are all the work of distinguished authorities, and while their subjects range from the Colossus of Rhodes to Saxon china, the majority naturally deal with various aspects of books and bookmaking. Thus Prof. Haebler writes on early Zwickau bindings, Dr. Adolf Schmidt on Cologne bindings, Prof. Hans Loubier on 'Hülleneinbände' or bindings long enough to be wrapped entirely round the volume to which they are attached. General bibliographical theory is acutely discussed by Dr. Georg Schneider in an article ('Bibliographie und Wissenschaft') dealing with various relations in which bibliography may be conceived as standing to science and the sciences. Of other bibliographical contributions the longest is that of Dr. Hans von Müller on early editions of the German playwright and romancer Casper von Lohenstein (1635-83). Professor Albert Schramm appends to an account of Günther Zainer, the first Augsburg printer, a useful short-title list of Zainer's productions, running to about 120 items. Dr. Collijn, of Stockholm, has done a characteristically thorough piece of work in his monograph on Georg Richolff the elder, who printed at Lübeck from 1501 or earlier until 1507, at Münster in Westphalia until 1509 and again at Lübeck for some years after this, and was the father of the Georg Richolff who plays an important part in Swedish printing from 1525 onwards. Richolff's known productions, less than twenty all told, are most of them described and illustrated in the course of Dr. Collijn's article. Prof. Erich von Rath's 'Vorläufer des Gesamtkatalogs der Wiegendrucke' discusses the successive achievements of Labbé, Beughem, Maittaire, Denis, Panzer, and Hain, with an interesting facsimile of the autograph request for permission to study the Munich incunabula put in by the last-named in

1822. This and certain remarks of Ebert, who was a personal friend of Hain, make it quite clear that the entries in the Repertorium drawn up by Hain himself and distinguished by an asterisk for this reason include books seen by him at Weimar, Leipzig, Dresden, and Vienna, as well as at Munich.

Interest of an exceptional kind attaches to a short paper by Dr. Ignaz Schwarz, in the course of which he transcribes in extenso certain memoranda set down with his own hand by Erhard Ratdolt, the famous craftsman who printed at Venice and Augsburg from 1476 onwards, and found in a manuscript of the *ci-devant* Hofbibliothek of Vienna which has contrived to escape the notice of all incunabulists until quite recently. Most of the entries merely record births, marriages, and deaths in the family of Erhard and his only son Georg, and printing is not so much as mentioned; but a certain residuum of valuable personal information remains. Thus, we can fix the year 1447 as that of Erhard's birth from the note that on 7 October 1462, being then fifteen years of age, he set out on his first journey to Italy, and he must have paid several visits to that country in the course of the next twelve years, inasmuch as he tells us that he went to Venice 'dass lest mal' on 15 September 1474,<sup>1</sup> disagreements with his brother Hans having determined him to shake the dust of Augsburg from his shoes. On 30 November 1476 he was contracted to his first wife, Anna Eisenhoferin, who bore him a daughter in June 1479, and lived until about 1484. On 27 September 1485 he was contracted to his second wife, Veronica (Eppishoferin), being then already back in Augsburg, so that the later books bearing his name together with a Venetian imprint—the last dated 18 March 1486—cannot have been produced under his personal supervision.

<sup>1</sup> The words 'dass lest mal' are perhaps not intended to exclude passing visits to Augsburg on business, since Ratdolt seems to have had a personal interview with the Bishop there some little time previous to July 1485 (cf. B.M. Inc. Cat., vol. v, p. 290, ad IB. 20547).

It is noticeable that Ratdolt's two marriages precede by only very little the start of his press in Venice and Augsburg respectively, and doubtless this is more than a mere coincidence. As the last entry of the memoranda dates from June 1523 Ratdolt must have lived to be seventy-six or thereabouts, if not older still. He was certainly dead in 1528.

V. S.

*Svend Dahls Biblioteksbandbok* översatt, bearbetad och med bidrag av svenska fackmän utgiven av Samuel E. Bring. Almqvist and Wiksell, Upsala and Stockholm, 1924, etc. To be completed in 2 volumes. 8°.

THE well-known *Haandbog i Bibliotekskundskab* of Svend Dahl, which has already reached its third Norse edition, is now making its appearance in an adaptation for Swedish readers. Its bulk has grown very considerably in the course of time and the part under review, dealing with 'bokhistoria', contains a good deal more matter than the whole of the original as first published in 1912, although it is only the first half of the first of two volumes. The history of the medieval manuscript, of printing, illustration and binding, and of the book trade is dealt with in a series of essays by competent Scandinavian authorities, and there are plenty of facsimiles and illustrations to enliven the text. The emphasis is, of course, more particularly on Swedish work, and two new sections, one by Sam Jonsson on Swedish handwriting, the other by Dr. Isak Collijn on Swedish printing up to 1700, are the features of the present part.

Dr. Collijn's article (Oversikt av det svenska boktryckets historia 1483-1700) embodies the results of all the most recent research, and its ninety pages constitute an admirably clear and informing guide to a subject that has hitherto lacked authoritative treatment. The matter is divided into three sections ending with the years 1525, 1600, and 1700 respectively. The earliest period is dominated by Johan Snel and



Bartholomaeus Ghotan and their material, which had descended to Paul Grijs, the first native printer, when he started his press at Upsala in 1510. Prior to this date no books had apparently been produced in Sweden for more than ten years, while for the fifteenth century only fifteen editions in all are recorded. In 1526 King Gustavus I Vasa, having suppressed the anti-Lutheran printing office of Bishop Hans Brask at Söderköping (1523-6), commissioned Bartholomaeus Fabri and Georg Richolff the younger to establish a Royal Press at Stockholm, to be used as an instrument in his policy of centralization. Its output consisted chiefly of books of Protestant theology and political propaganda, and by the end of the century it had been for some time the only press in the country. The most famous of its products is the great Vasa Bible, for the execution of which a special press was set up by Richolff at Upsala in 1539-41. Other royal printers are Amund Laurensen (1543-75), Torbjörn Tidemansson and Anders Torstenson (1576-82), and Andreas Gutterwitz of Rostock, who had previously printed in Denmark, and produced about 150 editions in Stockholm between 1583 and 1610. Soon after the turn of the century Swedish typography began at last to revive in some degree, new presses being set up in Stockholm, both by Swedes and Germans, and the art being introduced or re-introduced into Upsala (1613), Västerås (1621), Strängnäs (1622), and other provincial centres. A reaction against exclusively German models is illustrated by the appearance in 1628 of the first book in the vernacular printed with roman type throughout. Some twenty years later Dutch influences made themselves felt, Queen Christina having many connexions with the Netherlands. The first known type-founder in Sweden was a Dutchman named Peter van Selow, who worked from 1620 to 1640. The most important firm in the history of the century is that founded by a German named Heinrich Keyser in 1633. He was succeeded by

a son and a grandson of the same name, and the family interest was continued until 1707. The second Henrik Keyser, who flourished from 1670 to 1694, raised the fortunes of the press to their highest point, and was the principal printer and type-founder of his day.

V. S.

*A Bibliography of the Writings of Lewis Carroll (Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, M.A.).* By SIDNEY HERBERT WILLIAMS, Office of the *Bookman's Journal*, 1924. pp. xiii, 142.

MR. WILLIAMS'S bibliography is divided into four parts, the first comprising seventy-eight 'first and rare editions' issued by C. L. Dodgson either under the pseudonym 'Lewis Carroll' or anonymously and in 'the Carrollian vein'; the second, eighty-one pieces bearing his real name, or written as an Oxford don (e.g. *Three Years in a Curatorship*. By one whom it has tried); the third, contributions to periodicals not reprinted in the author's lifetime; the fourth, books about 'Lewis Carroll' and miscellanea. The division between the 'Lewis Carroll' books in Pt. 1 and Mr. C. L. Dodgson's mathematical and other works in Pt. 2 is not rigid, but it has been sensibly applied and works well, the more prosaic publications being given shorter treatment. But in Pt. 3 Lewis Carroll and C. L. Dodgson become hopelessly mixed, and it would have been better (as the pseudonym was first used in contributions to *The Train* in 1856) if the twenty entries had been distributed between the two previous parts. All the 'Carroll' entries are given full collations, and there are many interesting notes. As regards the nomenclature of the early editions of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* there should be no doubt that Mr. Williams is right in arranging them as (i) 'first edition, first issue' (the copies offered to the public in July 1865, which purchasers were invited to return on account of some slight defect); (ii) 'first edition, second issue' (the copies of this same edition sold to Appleton and published

at New York with a new title), and (iii) second edition, that published in November 1865, dated in advance 1866. An edition once published cannot be ruled out of the numeration, merely because the author tried to suppress it.

Type-facsimile Reprints of Poetical Pieces of the Restoration Period and the Eighteenth Century.

THE Oxford University Press is using its resources of seventeenth and eighteenth century founts to bring out a series of reprints of poetical pieces, mostly rare, in close approximation to the original editions, and with a perfection of press-work to which photographic facsimiles do not easily attain. The help of Mr. T. J. Wise has been enlisted, and two of the first four reprints are based on unique uncut copies in his possession, while for the other two his copies have been used for collation. The pieces first reproduced were Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe*, 1682 (price 4s. 6d.), Pope's *Of the Characters of Women*, 1735 (5s.), Shenstone's *The Schoolmistress*, 1742 (5s. 6d.) and Gray's *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College*, 1747. To these has since been added a reprint of an undated and presumably piratical edition of the *Prologue and Epilogue, spoken at the Opening of the Theatre in Drury Lane* in 1747. This, of which two copies have recently come to light, was printed by W. Webb, the genuine edition being printed by Cave for Dodsley. The reprints have brief prefaces by an anonymous editor, and in some cases notes on variant readings. They have thus plenty of literary interest and typographically they illustrate eighteenth-century ideals in printing in the best possible way. Whether that century, as the prospectus roundly asserts, was 'the Golden Age of English printing' is highly disputable, but it certainly had its ideals, and it is enterprising of the Clarendon Press to set them forth so attractively. Only five hundred copies of each piece have been printed for sale.

*Milton's Poems*, 1645. Type-facsimile. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1924. 10s. 6d.

This makes a very pretty little book, despite the fact that Marshall's miserable portrait is made to look rather more miserable than it need, and that some headpieces, &c., come out in too heavy a black to match the type. But the volume which contains so much of Milton's most graceful work is one which it is particularly pleasant to have in 'a book resembling as closely as may be' the book which he saw. Milton, moreover, would certainly have been pleased that 'a few misprints, which it seemed indecent to leave' have been corrected, due notice being given in a couple of pages at the end, the first of which is faced by a reproduction of a fragment of the original proof of *Lycidas* (1638) with the printer's corrections.

*A most friendly Farewell to Sir Francis Drake*. By HENRY ROBARTS. Transcribed with a short Introduction by E. M. Blackie, Canon and Precentor of Lincoln Cathedral. Cambridge [Mass.], Harvard University Press. (London: Humphrey Milford), 1924.

THIS reprint reproduces the typography of the edition of 1585 'Imprinted at London by Walter Mantell and Thomas Lawe' as closely as modern types will permit. Of the original only two copies are known, one in Mr. Huntington's library from the Britwell collection, the other, on which this reprint is based, at Lincoln Cathedral. It is a poor bit of book-making to have been treated so ceremoniously. Robarts had nothing to say; it is not clear that he knew where Drake was going, and he owns himself that he did not know who was going with him. Having nothing to say he said it three times over, first in italics in prose, then in black-letter in prose, then in black-letter in verse. Save for a certain amusement in watching his rapid transitions between the second and third person in addressing Drake, the only joy to be obtained from this booklet is that of noting how 'under the supervision of Bruce Rogers' the sorry original is raised to the dignity of a piece of fine printing.

*The Pilgrimage of Robert Langton.* Transcribed with an introduction and notes by E. M. Blackie, Canon and Precentor of Lincoln Cathedral. Cambridge [Mass.], Harvard University Press. (London: Humphrey Milford), 1924. 14s.

THIS companion volume to the above is much the better venture of the two. The book was 'Enprynted at London in the Flete Strete at the sygne of the Rose Garlande by Robert Coplande. The yere of our Lorde. mcccc xxii. The xviii day of Novembre' and is one of the numerous books from Coplande's pen of which only a single copy is known. The book is fairly well described on its title-page.

The pilgrimage of M. Robert Langton clerke to Saynt James in Compostell, and in other holy places of Crystendome, with the names of euery towne and the space betwene them, as well by Fraunce & Spayne as the dutche way and other londes. And of the relykes and wondres in certayne townes & places compendiously ordred, as it appereth playnly in this present boke.

Langton held a prebend in Lincoln Cathedral, was arch-deacon of Dorset and Treasurer of York Minster, and apparently resigned some of his offices to go on his pilgrimage, of which this account appeared two years before his death. The interest of his book lies mainly in the amazing list of relics, more especially at Cologne and Venice, which he thought it worth while to write down and possibly to visit. He was presumably a man of some education, and yet his list is almost as monstrous as some of the mock ones—and much longer. No wonder Canon Blackie quotes Erasmus.

*Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association.* Vol. X. Collected by E. K. CHAMBERS. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1924. pp. 144. price 7s. 6d.

MR. CHAMBERS is to be congratulated on having brought together an exceptionally good volume of *Essays and Studies* by members of the English Association. The first two articles would alone make it memorable. In the first Miss Ethel Seaton demonstrates that if Marlowe's geography has seemed fantastic to his editors the blame is to be transferred to

Ortelius, whose *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* Marlowe faithfully followed, e. g. in giving the name 'Zansibar' to 'the Western part of Affrike'. With the aid of an English 1584 edition of the *Theatrum* Miss Seaton makes the marches of Tamerlane and his generals intelligible. In the second paper, on the *Spellings and Misprints in the Second Quarto of 'Hamlet'*, Prof. Dover Wilson shows from the certain misprints in Q 2 what letters in Shakespeare's handwriting were most liable to be confused, and collects from the same quarto remarkable spellings, 'many of which we can feel pretty certain were 'conveyed by the eye and hand of the inexperienced compositor direct from the copy to his stick'. With the indications thus given of how Shakespeare spelt and how he wrote any one wishing to play the pleasant game of textual emendation may learn something of the rules to which his conjectures must conform, and Mr. Wilson provides him with some attractive solutions of cruxes in the play to show him how the rules work. In other papers Mr. J. E. V. Crofts writes cleverly (almost too cleverly) on the life of Bishop Corbet, Mr. Oliver Elton writes on Reason and Enthusiasm in the eighteenth century, and Dr. Mackail on Allan Ramsay and the Romantic Revival.

*The Review of English Studies*: a quarterly journal of English Literature and the English Language. Edited by R. B. McKERROW, Litt.D. Sidgwick and Jackson. Vol. 1, no. 1.

FIRST numbers of periodicals are not easy to produce, but *The Review of English Studies* has succeeded in making an excellent start. In a modest editorial Dr. McKerrow promises that the Review shall be open 'to all new matter, to all new interpretations of the old', and expresses his hope to make it useful in co-ordinating English studies and helpful to young students. Professor R. W. Chambers gives an admirable account of Recent Research upon the *Ancren Riwele*, Professor

L. L. Schucking makes the best attack on the contentions of the writers of *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More* that has yet appeared, and there are important papers by Mr. Granville Barker, Mr. E. K. Chambers, Professor Allardyce Nicoll, and a note by Mr. D. B. T. Wood suggesting that the famous 'Malone Scrap', confirming the genuineness of the suspected Revels Book, is in the handwriting of Sir William Musgrave, who died in 1800. In the past *The Library* has occasionally profited by the non-existence of such a Review as this, but there is so much work to be done that its appearance is warmly welcomed.

*The Year's Work in English Studies.* Vol. IV. 1923. Edited for the English Association by Sir SIDNEY LEE and F. S. BOAS. Oxford University Press, 1924, pp. 269. 7s. 6d.

*The Subject-Index to Periodicals.* 1921. Issued by the Library Association. Part I. Language and Literature. Part II. Modern European. Messrs. Grafton & Co. pp. 71. 5s.

Both these new instalments are well up to the high standard set by their predecessors; the *Year's Work*, indeed, seems to become more important each year. The subject-index to Periodicals would deserve equal gratitude if only it could keep as closely up-to-date.



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